

1810

THE
HISTORY
OF
BRITAIN,
That Part especially now call'd
ENGLAND.

From the first Traditional Beginning,
Continu'd to the
NORMAN CONQUEST.

Collected out of the Antientest and
Best Authours thereof by

JOHN MILTON.

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BOOK I.

THe Beginning of Nations, those excepted of whom Sacred Books have spok'n, is to this day unknown. Nor only the Beginning, but the Deeds also of many succeeding Ages, yea, periods of Ages, either wholly unknown, or obscur'd and blemisht with Fables. Whether it were that the use of Letters came in long after, or were it the violence of Barbarous

Ces. I. 6.

Inundations, or they themselves at certain Revolutions of Time, fatally decaying, and degenerating into Sloth and Ignorance; wherby the Monuments of more ancient civility have bin som destroy'd, som lost. Perhaps dis-esteem and contempt of the Public Affairs then present, as not worth recording, might partly be in cause. Certainly oft-times we see that wise Men, and of best Abilitie have forborn to Write the Acts of thir own Daies, while they beheld with a just Joathing and disdain, not only how Unworthy, how Pervers, how Corrupt, but often how Ignoble, how Petty, how below all History the persons and thir Actions were; who either by Fortune, or som rude Election had attain'd as a sore Judgment, and Ignominie upon the Land, to have Cheif Sway in managing the Common-wealth. But that any Law, or Superstition of our Old Philofophers the *Druuids* forbade the *Britans* to write thir Memorable Deeds, I know not why any out of *Cesar* should allege: He indeed saith, that thir Doctrine they thought not lawful to commit to Letters; but in most matters else, both Privat, and Public, among which well may History be reck'nd, they us'd the Greek Tongue: And that the *British Druuids*, who taught those in *Gaule* would be ignorant of any Language known and us'd by thir Disciples, or so frequently writing other things, and so inquisitive into highest, would for want of Recording be ever Children in the Knowledge of Times and Ages, is not likely.

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What ever might be the reason, this we find, that of *British Affairs*, from the first peopling of the Iland to the coming of *Julius Caesar*, nothing certain, either by Tradition, History, or Ancient Fame hath hitherto bin left us. That which we have of oldest seeming, hath by the greater part of judicious Antiquaries bin long rejected for a Modern Fable.

Nevertheless there being others besides the first suppos'd Author, men not unread, nor unlearned in Antiquitie, who admitt that for approved Story, which the former explode for Fiction, and seeing that oft-times Relations heretofore accounted Fabulous, have bin after found to contain in them many foot-steps, and reliques of somthing true, as what we read in Poets of the Flood, and Giants little beleev'd, till undoubted witnesses taught us, that all was not fain'd; I have therefore determin'd to bestow the telling over ev'n of these reputed Tales; be it for nothing else but in favour of our English Poets, and Rhetoricians, who by thir Art will know, how to use them judiciously.

I might also produce Example, as *Diodorus* among the *Greeks*, *Livie* and others of the *Latines*, *Polydore* and *Virunnius* accounted among our own Writers. But I intend not with Controversies and Quotations to delay or interrupt the smooth course of History; much less to argue and debate long who were the first Inhabitants, with what Probabilities, what Authorities each Opinion hath bin upheld, but shall endevor that which hitherto

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hath bin needed most, with plain, and light-som brevity, to relate well and orderly things worth the Noting, so as may best instruct and benefit them that read. Which imploring Divine Assistance, that it may redound to his Glory, and the good of the *British* Nation, *I now begin.*

That the whole Earth was Inhabited before the Flood, and to the utmost point of habitable Ground, from those effectual words of *God* in the Creation, may be more than conjectur'd. Hence that this Iland also had her Dwellers, her Affairs, and perhaps her Stories, ev'n in that Old World those many hunderd years, with much reason we may inferr. After the Flood, and the dispersing of Nations, as they journey'd leasurely from the East, *Gomer* the eldest Son of *Japhet*, and his Off-spring, as by Authorities, Arguments, and Affinitie of divers names is generally believ'd, were the first that peopl'd all these West and Northren Climes. But they of our own Writers, who thought they had don nothing, unless with all circumstance they tell us when, and who first set foot upon this Iland, presume to name out of fabulous and counterfet Authors a certain *Samothes* or *Dis*, a fowrth or fixt Son of *Japhet*, whom they make about 200 years after the Flood, to have planted with Colonies; first the Continent of *Celtica*, or *Gaule*, and next this Iland; Thence to have nam'd it *Samothea*, to have Reign'd heer, and after him Lineally fowr Kings, *Magus*, *Saron*, *Druis*, and *Bardus*. But the

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the forg'd *Berosus*, whom only they have to cite, no where mentions that either hee, or any of those whom they bring, did ever pass into *Britan*, or send thir people hither. So that this Outlandish figment may easily excuse our not allowing it the room heer so much as of a *British Fable*.

That which follows, perhaps as wide from truth, though seeming lesse impertinent, is, that these *Samotheans* under the Reign of *Bardus* were subdu'd by *Albion* a Giant, Son of *Neptune*: who call'd the Iland after his own name, and rul'd it 44 years. Till at length passing over into *Gaul*, in aid of his Brother *Lestrygon*, against whom *Hercules* was hasting out of *Spain* into *Italy*, he was there slain in fight, and *Bergion* also his Brother.

Sure enough we are, that *Britan* hath bin anciently term'd *Albion*, both by the *Greeks* and *Romans*. And *Mela* the Geographer makes mention of a stonie shoar in *Languedoc*, where by report such a Battel was fought. The rest, as his giving name to the Ile, or ever landing heer, depends altogether upon late surmises. But too absurd, and too unconscionably gross is that fond invention that wafted hither the fifty Daughters of a strange *Diolesian King of Syria*; brought in doubtles by some illiterate pretender to somthing mistak'n in the common Poetical Story of *Danaus King of Argos*, while his vanity, not pleas'd with the obscure beginning which truest Antiquity affords the Nation, labour'd to contrive us a Pedigree, as he thought, more noble: These

Daughters

Daughters by appointment of *Danans* on the Mariage-night having murder'd all thir Husbands, except *Linceus*, whom his Wives loyalty fav'd, were by him at the suit of his Wife thir Sister, not put to death, but turn'd out to Sea in a Ship unmann'd; of which whole Sex they had incurr'd the hate: and as the Tale goes, were driv'n on *this Iland*. Where the Inhabitants, none but Devils, as som write, or as others, a lawless crew left heer by *Albion* without Head or Governour, both entertain'd them, and had issue by them a second breed of Giants, who tyranniz'd *the Ile*, till *Brutus* came.

The Eldest of these Dames in thir Legend they call *Albina*; and from thence, for which cause the whole Scene was fram'd, will have the name *Albion* deriv'd. Incredible it may seem so sluggish a conceit should prove so ancient, as to be authoriz'd by the Elder *Ninnius*, reputed to have liv'd above a thousand years agoe. This I find not in him; but that *Holinshed*. *Historian* sprung of *Japhet*, had four Sons; *Francus*, *Romanus*, *Alemannus*, and *Britto*, of whom the *Britans*; as true, I beleieve, as that those other Nations whose names are resembl'd, came of the other three; if these Dreams give not just occasion to call in doubt the Book it self, which bears that title.

Hitherto the things themselves have giv'n us a warrantable dispatch to run them soon over. But now of *Brutus* and his Line, with the whole Progeny of Kings, to the entrance of *Julius Cesar*, we cannot so easily be discharg'd;

charg'd; Descents of Ancestry, long continu'd Laws and Exploits not plainly seeming to be borrow'd, or devis'd, which on the common beleif have wrought no small impression: defended by many, deny'd utterly by few. For what though *Brutus*, and the whole *Trojan* pretence were yeelded up, seeing they who first devis'd to bring us from som noble Ancestor were content at first with *Brutus* the Consul; till better invention, although not willing to forgoe the name, taught them to remove it higher into a more fabulous Age, and by the same remove lighting on the *Trojan* Tales in affectation to make the *Britan* of one Original with the *Roman*, pitch'd there, yet those old and inborn names of successive Kings, never any to have bin real persons, or don in thir lives at least som part of what so long hath bin remember'd, cannot be thought without too strict an incredulity.

For these, and those causes above mention'd, that which hath receav'd approbation from so many, I have chos'n not to omitt. Certain or uncertain, be that upon the credit of those whom I must follow; so far as keeps alooff from impossible and absurd, attested by ancient Writers from Books more ancient I refuse not, as the due and proper subject of Story. The principal Author is well know'n to be *Geoffrey of Monmouth*; what he was, and whence his Authority, who in his Age, or before him have deliver'd the same matter, and such like general Discourses, will better stand in a Treatise by themselvs. All of them agree Henry of Huntingdon. Matthew of Westminister. in

in this, that *Brutus* was the Son of *Silvius*; he of *Ascanius*; whose Father was *Eneas* a Trojan Prince, who at the burning of that City, with his Son *Ascanius*, and a collected number that escap'd, after long wandring on the Sea, arriv'd in *Italy*. Where at length, by the assistance of *Latinus King of Latium*, who had giv'n him his Daughter *Lavinia*, he obtain'd to succeed in that Kingdom, and left it to *Ascanius*, whose Son *Silvius* (though *Roman Histories* deny *Silvius* to be Son of *Ascanius*) had maried secretly a Neece of *Lavinia*.

She being with Child, the matter became known to *Ascanius*. Who commanding his Magicians to enquire by Art, what sex the Maid had conceiv'd, had answ're, that it was one who shoul'd be the death of both his Parents; and banish'd for the fact, should after all in a farr Country attain to highest honour. The prediction fail'd not, for in travel the Mother di'd. And *Brutus* (the Child was so call'd) at fifteen years of Age, attending his Father to the Chace, with an Arrow unfortunately kill'd him.

Banish'd therefore by his Kindred he retires into *Greece*. Where meeting with the Race of *Helenus King Priams Son*, held there in Servile condition by *Pandrasus then King*, with them he abides. For *Pirrhus* in revenge of his Father slain at *Troy* had brought thither with him *Helenus*, and many others into servitude. There *Brutus* among his own Stock so thrives in Vertue and in Arms, as renders him belov'd to Kings, and great Captains above all the Youth of that Land. Wherby the

Trojans

I.

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Trojans not only begin to hope, but secretly to move him, that he would lead them the way to liberty. They allege their numbers, and the promis'd help of *Affaracus* a Noble Greekish Youth, by the Mothers side a Trojan; whom for that cause his Brother went about to dispossess of certain Castles bequeath'd him by his Father. *Brutus* considering both the Forces offer'd him, and the strength of those Holds, not unwillingly consents.

First therefore having fortifi'd those Castles, he with *Affaracus* and the whole multitude betake them to the Woods and Hills; as the safest place from whence to expostulate; and in the name of all sends to *Pandrasus* this Message; *That the Trojans holding it unworthy thir Ancestors to serve in a Foren Kingdom, had retreated to the Woods; choosing rather a Savage life than a slavish; If that displeas'd him, that then with his leave they might depart to some other soil.*

As this may pass with good allowance, that the *Trojans* might be many in these parts, for *Helenus* was by *Pirrhus* made King of the *Chonians*, and the Sons of *Pirrhus* by *Andromache Heitors Wife* could not but be powerful through all *Epirus*, so much the more it may be doubted, how these *Trojans* could be thus in bondage, where they had Friends and Country-men so Potent. But to examin these things with diligence, were but to confute the Fables of *Britan* with the Fables of *Greece* or *Italy*; for of this Age, what we have to say, as well concerning most other Countries, as this lland,

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is equally under Question. Be't how it will, *Pandrasus* not expecting so bold a Message from the Sons of Captives, gathers an Army. And marching toward the Woods, *Brutus* who had notice of his approach nigh to a Town call'd *Sparatinum*, (I know not what Town, but certain of no Greek name) over night planting himself there with good part of his men, suddenly sets upon him, and with slaughter of the *Greeks* pursues him to the passage of a River, which mine Author names *Akalon*, meaning perhaps *Achelous*, or *Acheron*: where at the Ford he overlayes them a-fresh. This victory obtain'd, and a sufficient strength left in *Sparatinum*, *Brutus* with *Antigonus*, the Kings Brother and his Freind *Anacletus*, whom he had tak'n in the fight, returns to the residue of his Freinds in the thick Woods. While *Pandrasus* with all speed recollecting, besieges the Town. *Brutus* to relieve his men besieg'd, who earnestly call'd him, distrusting the sufficiency of his Force, bethinks himself of this Policy. Calls to him *Anacletus*, and threatening instant death else, both to him and his freind *Antigonus*, enjoyns him, that he should go at the seconde howr of night to the Greekish Leagre, and tell the Guards he had brought *Antigonus* by stealth out of Prison to a certain woody Vale; unable through the waight of his Fetteres to move furder: entreating them to come speedily and fetch him in. *Anacletus* to save both himself and his freind *Antigonus*, sswears this; and at fit howr sett's on alone toward the Camp:

Camp : is mett, examin'd, and at last unquestionably known. To whom, great profession of fidelity first made, he frames his Tale, as had bin taught him : and they now fully asfur'd, with a credulous rashness leaving thir Stations, far'd accordingly by the Ambush that there awaited them. Forthwith *Brutus* dividing his men into three parts, leads on in silence to the Camp ; commanding first each part at a several place to enter, and forbear Execution, till he with his Squadron possess'd of the Kings Tent, gave Signal to them by Trumpet. The sound whereof no sooner heard, but huge havock begins upon the sleeping, and unguarded Enemy ; whom the besieged also now fallying forth, on the other side assaile. *Brutus* the while had special care to seise and secure the *Kings Person* ; whose Life still within his Custody, he knew was the surest pledge to obtain what he should demand. Day appearing, he enters the Town, there distributes the *Kings Treasury*, and leaving the place better fortify'd, returns with the King his Prisoner to the Woods. Strait the ancient and grave Men he summons to Counsell, what they should now demand of the King.

After long debate *Mempricius*, one of the gravest, utterly dissuading them from thought of longer stay in *Greece*, unless they meant to be deluded with a suttle peace, and the awaited revenge of those whose freinds they had slain, advises them to demand first the *Kings Eldest Daughter Innogen* in mariage to thir Leader

Leader *Brutus*, with a rich Dowry, next shipping, mony, and fitt provision for them all to depart the Land.

This resolution pleasing best, the King now brought in, and plac'd in a high Seat, is breifly told, that on these conditions granted, he might be free, not granted, he must prepare to die.

Prest with fear of death the *King* readily yeelds : especially to bestow his Daughter on whom he confess'd so Noble and so Valiant : offers them also the third part of his Kingdom, if they like to stay ; if not, to be thir Hostage himself, till he had made good his word.

The Mariage therfore solemniz'd, and shipping from all parts got together, the Trojans in a Fleet, no less writt'n then three hundred four and twenty Sail, betake them to the wide Sea, where with a prosperous course two daies and a night bring them on a certain Iland long before dispeopl'd and left wast by Sea-Roavers ; the name whereof was then *Leogecia*, now unknow'n. They who were sent out to discover, came at length to a ruin'd City ; where was a Temple and Image of *Diana* that gave Oracles : but not meeting first or last sive wild Beasts, they return with this notice to thir Ships : Wishing thir General would enquire of that Oracle what voyage to pursue.

Consultation had, *Brutus* taking with him *Gerion* his Diviner, and twelv of the ancientest, with wonted Ceremonies before the inward shrine of the Goddess, in Verse, as it seems

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seems the manner was, utters his request, *Diva potens nemorum, &c.*

*Goddes of Shades, and Huntress, who at will
Walk'st on the rowling sphear, and through the deep,
On thy third Reigne the Earth look now, and tell
What Land, what Seat of rest thou bidst me seek,
What certain Seat, where I may worship thee
For aye, with Temples vow'd, and Virgin quires.*

To whom sleeping before the Altar, *Diana* in a Vision that night thus answer'd, *Brute sub occasum Solis, &c.*

*Brutus far to the West, in th' Ocean wide
Beyond the Realm of Gaul, a Land there lies,
Sea-girt it lies, where Giants dwelt of old,
Now void, it fitts thy people; thether bend
Thy course, there shalt thou find a lasting seat,
There to thy Sons another Troy shall rise,
And Kings be born of thee, whose dredded might
Shall aw the World, and Conquer Nations bol'.*

These Verses Originally Greek, were put in Latin, saith *Virunnius*, by *Gildas* a British Poet, and him to have liv'd under *Claudius*. Which granted true, adds much to the Antiquitie of this Fable; and indeed the Latin Verses are much better, than for the Age of *Geoffrey ap Arthur*, unless perhaps *Joseph of Exeter*, the only smooth Poet of those times, befreinded him; in this *Diana* overshot her Oracle thus ending, *Ipsis totius terræ subditus orbis erit, That to the race of Brute Kings of*

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this Hand, the whole Earth shall be subject.

But *Brutus* guided now, as he thought, by Divine Conduct, speeds him towards the West; and after som encounters on the *Afric* side, arrives at a place on the *Tyrrhen* Sea; where he happ'ns to find the Race of those *Trojans*, who with *Antenor* came into *Italy*; and *Corineus* a man much fam'd, was thir Chief: though by surer Authors it be reported, that those *Trojans* with *Antenor*, were seat-ed on the other side of *Italie*, on the *Adriatic*, not the *Tyrrhen* shoar. But these joyning Company, and past the *Herculean Pillars*, at the mouth of *Ligeris* in *Aquitania* cast Anchor. Where after som discovery made of the place, *Corineus* Hunting nigh the shoar with his Men, is by Messengers of the King *Goffarius Pictus* mett, and question'd about his Errand there. Who not answering to thir mind, *Imbertus*, one of them, lets fly an Arrow at *Corineus*, which he avoiding, slai-es him: and the *Pictavian* himself heerupon levying his whole Force, is overthrown by *Brutus*, and *Corineus*; who with the Battell Ax which he was wont to ma-nage against the *Tyrrhen Giants* is said to have done marvells. But *Goffarius* having draw'n to his Aid the whole Country of *Gaul*, at that time govern'd by *Twelv Kings*, puts his Fortune to a second Trial, wherin the *Trojans* over-born by multitude, are driv'n back, and besieg'd in thir own Camp, which by good foresight was strongly situate. Whence *Brutus* unexpectedly issuing out, and *Corineus* in the mean while, whose device it was, assault-ing

ing them behind from a Wood, where he had convey'd his men the night before, the *Trojans* are again Victors, but with the loss of *Turon* a Valiant Nefew of *Brutus*; whose Ashes left in that place, gave name to the City of *Tours*, built there by the *Trojans*. *Brutus* finding now his powers much lesn'd, and this yet not the place foretold him, leav's *Aquitain*, and with an easie course, arriving at *Totnes* in *Dev'nsire*, quickly perceivs heer to be the promis'd end of his labours.

The Iland not yet *Britan* but *Albion*, was in a manner desert and inhospitable; kept only by a remnant of *Giants*; whose excessive Force and Tyrannie had consum'd the rest. Them *Brutus* destroies, and to his People divides the Land, which with som reference to his own name he thenceforth calls *Britan*. To *Corineus*, *Cornwal*, as now we call it, fell by Lot; the rather by him lik't, for that the hugest Giants, in Rocks and Caves were said to lurk still there; which kind of Monsters to deal with was his old exercise.

And heer, with leave bespok'n to recite a grand Fable, though dignify'd by our best Poets; While *Brutus* on a certain Festival day solemnly kept on that shoar, where he first landed, was with the People in great jollity and mirth, a crew of these Savages breaking in upon them, began on the fuddain another sort of Game than at such a meeting was expected. But at length by many hands overcome, *Goëmagog* the hugest, in hight twelv Cubits, is reserv'd alive; that with him *Cori-*

nus, who desir'd nothing more, might try his strength ; whom in a Wrestle the Giant catching aloft, with a terrible hugg broke three of his Ribs : Nevertheless *Corineus* enrag'd, heaving him up by main force, and on his Shoulders bearing him to the next high Rock, threw him headlong all shatter'd into the Sea, and left his name on the Cliff, call'd ever since *Langoëmagog*, which is to say, the Giants leap.

After this, *Brutus* in a chosen place builds *Troia nova*, chang'd in time to *Trinovantum*, now *London*; and began to enact Laws ; *Heli* beeing then high Preist in *Judea* : and having govern'd the whole Ile 24 Years, dy'd, and was buried in his new *Troy*. His three Sons *Locrine*, *Albanact*, and *Camber* divide the Land by consent. *Locrine* had the middle part *Loëgria* ; *Camber* possess'd *Cambria or Wales* ; *Albanact* *Albania*, now *Scotland*. But he in the end by *Humber* King of the *Huns*, who with a Fleet invaded that Land, was slain in fight, and his People driv'n back into *Loëgria*. *Locrine* and his Brother goe out against *Humber* ; who now marching onward, was by them defeated, and in a River drown'd, which to this day retains his name. Among the spoils of his Camp and Navy, were found certain young Maids, and *Estrildis*, above the rest, passing fair ; the Daughter of a *King in Germany* ; from whence *Humber*, as he went wasting the Sea-Coast, had led her Captive : whom *Locrine*, though before contracted to the Daughter of *Corineus*, resolves to marry. But beeing forc'd and threatn'd by *Corineus*, whose Authority,

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rity, and Power he fear'd, *Guendolen* the Daughter he yeelds to marry, but in secret loves the other : and oft-times retiring as to som private Sacrifice, through Vaults and Passages made under ground ; and seven years thus enjoying her, had by her a Daughter equally fair, whose name was *Sabra*. But when once his fear was off by the Death of *Corineus*, not content with secret enjoyment, divorcing *Guendolen*, he makes *Estrildis* now his Queen. *Guendolen* all in rage departs into *Cornwall*; where *Ma-an*, the Son she had by *Locrine*, was hitherto brought up by *Corineus* his Grandfather. And gathering an Army of her Fathers Freinds and Subjects, gives Battail to her Husband by the River *Sture*; wherein *Locrine* shot with an Arrow ends his life. But not so ends the fury of *Guendolen*; for *Estrildis* and her Daughter *Sabra*, she throws into a River : and to leave a Monument of Revenge, proclaims, that the stream be thenceforth call'd after the Damsels name; which by length of time is chang'd now to *Severna*, or *Severn*.

Fifteen Years she governs in behalf of her Son; then resigning to him at Age, retires to her Fathers Dominion. This saith my Author, was in the daies of *Samuel*. *Madan* hath the praise to have well and peacefully rul'd the space of 40 years; leaving behind him two Sons, *Mempri cius*, and *Malim*. *Mempri cius* had first to doe with the ambition of his Brother, aspiring to share with him in the Kingdom; whom therefore at a meeting to

compose matters, with a treachery which his cause needed not, he slew.

Not was he better in the sole possession, whereof so ill he could endure a Partner, killing his Nobles, and those especially next to succeed him; till lastly giv'n over to unnatural lust, in the twentieth of his Reigne, hunting in a Forest, he was devowr'd by Wolves.

His Son *Ebranc*, a man of mighty strength and stature, Reign'd 40 Years. He first after *Brutus* wasted *Gaul*; and returning rich and prosperous, builded *Caerebranc*, now *York*; in *Albania Alclud*, *Mount Agned*, or the *Castle of Maydens*, now *Edinburgh*. He had 20 Sons and 30 Daughters by 20 Wives. His Daughters he sent to *Silvius Alba* into *Italy*, who bestow'd them on his Peers of the *Trojan Line*. His Sons under the leading of *Affaracus* thir Brother, won them Lands and Signories in *Germany*; thence call'd, from these Brethren, *Germania*: a derivation too hastily suppos'd, perhaps before the word *Germanus* or the Latin Tongue was in use. Som who have describ'd *Henault*, as *Jacobus Bergomas*, and *Lessabens*, are cited to affirm that *Ebranc* in his Warre there, was by *Brunchildis Lord of Henault* put to the worse.

Brutus therefore surnamed *Greenshield* succeeding, to repair his Fathers losses, as the same *Lessabens* reports, fought a second Battail in *Henault* with *Brunchild* at the mouth of *Scaldis*, and Encamp'd on the River *Hania*. Of which our *Spencer* also thus Sings.

Let *Scaldis* tell, and let tell *Hania*,
And let the Marsh of *Esthambruges* tell

What

What colour were thir Waters that same day,
And all the Moar twixt Elversham and Dell,
With blood of Henalois which therin fel;
How oft that day did sad Brunchildis see
The Greenshield dy'd in dolorous Vermeil, &c.
But Henault, and Brunchild, and Greenshield,
seeme newer names than for a Story pretend-
ed thus Antient.

Him succeeded *Leil*, a maintainer of Peace and Equity; but slackn'd in his latter end, whence arose some civil discord. He built in the North *Cairleil*; and in the daies of *Solomon*.

Rudhuddibras, or *Hudibras* appeasing the commotions which his Father could not, fownded *Caerkeynt* or *Canturbury*, *Caerguent*, or *Winchester*, and *Mount Paladur*, now *Septonia* or *Shaftsbury*: but this by others is contradicted.

Bladud his Son built *Caerbadus* or *Bathe*, and those medicinable waters he dedicated to *Mi-
nerva*, in whose Temple there he kept fire continually burning. He was a man of great Invention, and taught Necromancy: till having made him Wings to fly, he fell down upon the Temple of *Apollo* in *Trinovant*, and so dy'd after twenty years Reigne.

Hitherto from Father to Son the direct Line hath run on: but *Leir* who next Reign'd, had only three Daughters, and no Male Issue: govern'd laudably, and built *Caer-Leir*, now *Leicestre*, on the Bank of *Sora*. But at last, failing through Age, he determines to bestow his Daughters, and so among them to divide his Kingdom. Yet first to try which of them

lov'd him best (a Trial that might have made him, had he known as wisely how to try, as he seem'd to know how much the trying be-hoov'd him) he resolves a simple resolution, to ask them solemnly in order; and which of them should profess largest, her to beleev. Gonoril th' Eldest apprehending too well her Fathers weakness, makes answer, invoking Heav'n, *That she lov'd him above her Soul.* Therfore, quoth the old man overjoy'd, since thou so honourst my declin'd Age, to thee and the Husband whom thou shalt choose, I give the third part of my Realm. So fair a speeding for a few words soon utter'd, was to Regan the second, ample instruction what to say. She on the same demand spares no protesting, and the Gods must witness, that otherwise to express her thoughts she knew not, but that *she lov'd him above all Creatures;* and so receav's an equal reward with her Sister. But Cordelia the youngest, though hitherto best belov'd, and now before her Eyes the rich and present hire of a little easie soothing, the danger also, and the loss likely to betide plain dealing, yet moves not from the solid purpose of a sincere and vertuous answer. *Father, saith she, my love towards you, is as my duty bids; what should a Father seek, what can a Child promise more? they who pretend beyond this, flatter.* When the old man, sorry to hear this, and wishing her to recall those words, persisted asking, with a loiall sadness at her Fathers infirmity, but somthing on the sudden, harsh, and glancing rather at her Sisters, than speaking her own mind,

mind, Two waies only, saith she, I have to answer what you require mee ; the former, Your command is, I should recant ; accept then this other which is left mee ; look how much you have, so much is your value, and so much I love you. Then hear thou, quoth Leir now all in passion, what thy ingratitude hath gain'd thee ; because thou hast not reverenc'd thy aged Father equall to thy Sisters, part in my Kingdom, or what else is mine reck'n to have none. And without delay gives in mariage his other Daughters, Gonorill to Maglannus Duke of Albania, Regan to Henninus Duke of Cornwall ; with them in present half his Kingdom ; the rest to follow at his Death. In the mean while Fame was not sparing to divulge the Wisdom, and other Graces of Cordeilla, insomuch that Aganippus a great King in Gaul (however he came by his Greek name) seeks her to Wife, and nothing alter'd at the loss of her Dowry, receav's her gladly in such manner as she was sent him. After this King Leir, more and more drooping with Years, became an easy prey to his Daughters and thir Husbands ; who now by dayly encroachment had seis'd the whole Kingdom into thir hands : and the old King is put to sojorn with his Eldest Daughter, attended only by threescore Knights. But they in a short while grudg'd at, as too numerous and disorderly for continual Guelts, are reduc'd to thirty. Not brooking that affront, the old King betakes him to his second Daughter : but there also discord soon arising between the Servants of differing Masters in one Family,

Family, five only are suffer'd to attend him. Then back again he returns to the other ; hoping that she his Eldest could not but have more pity on his Gray Hairs : but she now refuses to admitt him, unless he be content with one only of his followers. At last the remembrance of his youngest *Cordeilla* comes to his thoughts ; and now acknowledging how true her words had bin, though with little hope from whom he had so injur'd, be it but to pay her the last recompence she can have from him, his confession of her wise forewarning, that so perhaps his misery, the prooff and experiment of her Wisdom, might somthing soft'n her, he takes his Journey into *France*. Now might be seen a difference between the silent, or down-right spok'n affection of som Children to thir Parents, and the talkative obsequiousness of others ; while the hope of Inheritance over-acts them, and on the tongues end enlarges thir duty. *Cordeilla* out of meer love, without the suspicion of expected reward, at the meslage only of her Father in distress, powrs forth true filial tears. And not enduring either that her own, or any other Eye should see him in such forlorn condition as his Messenger declar'd, discreetly appoints one of her trusted Servants, first to convay him privately toward som good Sea Town, there to array him, bathe him, cherish him, furnish him with such Attendance and State, as besem'd his Dignity. That then, as from his first Landing, he might send word of his Arrival to her Husband *Aganippus*. Which don

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don with all mature, and requisite contrivance, *Cordelia* with the King her Husband, and all the Barony of his Realm, who then first had news of his passing the Sea, goe out to meet him ; and after all honourable and joyful entertainment, *Aganippus*, as to his Wives Father, and his Royal Guest, surrenders him, during his abode there, the Power and disposal of his whole Dominion : permitting his Wife *Cordeilla* to go with an Army, and set her Father upon his Throne. Wherin her piety so prosper'd, as that she vanquish'd her impious Sisters with those Dukes, and *Leir* again, as faith the story, three years obtain'd the Crown. To whom dying, *Cordeilla* with all Regal Solemnities gave Burial in the Town of *Leicester*. And then as right Heir succeeding, and her Husband dead, Rul'd the Land five years in Peace. Untill *Marganus* and *Cunedagius* her two Sisters Sons, not bearing that a Kingdom should be govern'd by a Woman, in the unseasonablest time to raise that quarrel against a Woman so worthy, make War against her, depose her, and imprison her ; of which impatient, and now long unexercis'd to suffer, she there, as is related, kill'd her self. The Victors between them part the Land : but *Marganus* the Eldest Sisters Son, who held by agreement from the North-side of *Humber* to *Cathness*, incited by those about him, to invade all as his own right, warres on *Cunedagius* ; who soon met him, overcame, and overtook him in a Town of *Wales*, where he left his life, and ever since his name to the place.

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Cunedagius was now sole King, and govern'd with much praise many years; about the time when *Rome* was built. Him succeeded *Rivallo* his Son, wife also and fortunat; save what they tell us of three daies raining blood, and swarmes of stinging Flies, whereof men dy'd. In order then *Gurgustius*, *Fago* or *Lago*, his Nefew; *Sisilius*, *Kinmarcus*. Then *Gorbogudo*, whom others name *Gorbodego*, and *Gorbodion*, who had two Sons, *Ferrex*, and *Porrex*. They in the old Age of thir Father failing to contend who should succeed, *Porrex* attempting by treachery his Brothers life, drives him into *France*; and in his return, though aided with the Force of that Country, defeats and slaiers him. But by his Mother *Videna* who lesf lov'd him, is himself, with the assistance of her Women, soon after slain in his Bed: With whom ended, as is thought, the Line of *Brutus*. Wherupon, the whole Land with Civil Broils was rent into Five Kingdoms, long time waging Warr each on other; and som say 50 Years. At length *Dunwallo Molmutius* the Son of *Cloten King of Cornwall*, one of the fore-said five, excelling in valour, and goodliness of person, after his Fathers decease found means to reduce again the whole lland into a Monarchy: subduing the rest at opportunities. First *Tmner King of Loegria* whom he slew; then *Rudaucus of Cambria*, *Staterius of Albania*, confederat together. In which fight *Dunwallo* is reported, while the Victory hung doubtfull, to have us'd this Art. He takes with him 600 stout men, bids them put on the

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Armour of thir slain Enemies ; and so unexpectedly approaching the Squadron , where those two Kings had plac'd themselves in fight, from that part which they thought securest, assaults, and dispatches them. Then displaying his own Ensignes which before he had conceal'd, and sending notice to the other part of his Army what was don, adds to them new courage, and gains a final Victory. This *Dunwallo was the first in Britan that wore a Crown of Gold; and therfore by som reputed the first King.* He established the *Molmutine Laws,* famous among the *English* to this day ; writt'n long after in Latine by *Gildas*, and in Saxon by King *Alfred* : so saith *Geofrey*, but *Gildas* denies to have known aught of the *Britans* before *Cesar* ; much less knew *Alfred*. These Laws, whoever made them, bestow'd on Temples the privilege of Sanctuary ; to Cities also, and the waies thether leading, yea to Plows granted a kind of like refuge : and made such riddance of Theeves and Robbers, that all passages were safe. Forty Years he Govern'd alone, and was buried nigh to the *Temple of Concord* ; which he, to the memory of peace restor'd, had built in *Trinovant*.

His two Sons *Belinus* and *Brennus* contending about the Crown, by decision of Freinds came at length to an accord ; *Brennus* to have the North of *Humber*, *Belinus* the Sovrantie of all. But the younger not long so contented, that he, as they whisper'd to him, whose valour had so oft repell'd the Invasions of *Ceulphus the Morine Duke*, should now be subject to his

his Brother, upon new Designe fails into Norway; enters League and Affinitie with Elsing that King; which Belinus perceaving, in his absence dispossesses him of all the North. Brennus with a Fleet of Norwegians makes toward Britan; but encounter'd by Guithlac the Danish King, who laying claim to his Bride, purf'd him on the Sea, his hast was retarded, and he bereft of his Spouse: who from the fight by a sudden Tempest, was by the Danish King driv'n on Northumberland, and brought to Belinus. Brennus nevertheless recollecting his Navy, lands in Albania, and gives Battel to his Brother in the Wood Calaterium; but losing the day, escapes with one single Ship into Gaul. Mean while the Dane upon his own offer to become tributary, sent home with his new prise, Belinus returns his thoughts to the administering of Justice, and the perfeting of his Fathers Laws; and to explain what High-waies might enjoy the foresaid privileges, he caus'd to be drawn out and pav'd four main Roades to the utmost length and bredth of the Iland; and two others athwart; which are since attributed to the Romans. Brennus on the other side solliciting to his aid the Kings of Gaul, happ'ns at last on Seginus Duke of the Allobroges; where his worth, and comeliness of person wan him the Dukes Daughter and Heir. In whose right he shortly succeeding, and by obtain'd leave passing with a great Host through the length of Gaul, gets footing once again in Britan. Nor was Belinus unprepar'd, and now the Battel ready

to joyn, *Conuvenna* the Mother of them both all in a fright, throws her self between; and calling earnestly to *Brennus* her Son, whose absence had so long depriv'd her of his sight, after embracements and tears, assails him with such a motherly power, and the mention of things so dear and reverend, as irresistibly wrung from him all his enmity against *Belinus*.

Then are hands joyn'd, reconciliation made firm, and Counsel held to turn thir united preparations on Foren parts. Thence that by these two all *Gallia* was overrun, the story tells; and what they did in *Italy*, and at *Rome*, if these be they, and not *Gauls*, who took that City, the Roman Authors can best relate. So far from home I undertake not for the *Monmouth Chronicle*; which heer against the stream of History carries up and down these Brethren, now into *Germany*, then again to *Rome*, pursuing *Gabius* and *Porsena*, two unheard of Consuls. Thus much is more generally beleev'd, that both this *Brennus*, and another famous Captain, *Britomarus*, whom the Epitomist *Florus* and others mention, were not *Gauls* but *Britans*; the name of the first in that Tongue signifying a King, and of the other a Great *Britan*. However *Belinus* after a while returning home, the rest of his daies rul'd in Peace, Wealth, and Honour above all his Predecessors; building som Cities, of which one was *Caeroſe* upon *Oſca*, ſince *Caerlegion*; beautifying others, as *Trinovant* with a Gate, a Hav'n, and a Towr, on the *Thames*, retaining yet his name; on the top wheroft his Ashes are

are said to have bin laid up in a Golden Urne.

After him *Gurguntius Barbirus* was King, mild and just, but yet inheriting his Fathers Courage, he subdu'd the *Dacian* or *Dane*, who refus'd to pay the Tribute Covnanted to *Belinus* for his enlargement. In his return finding about the *Orkneyes* 30 ships of *Spain*, or *Biscay*, fraught with Men and Women for a Plantation, whose Captain also *Bartholinus* wrongfully banish'd, as he pleaded, besought him that some part of his Territory might be assign'd them to dwell in, he sent with them certain of his own men to *Ireland*, which then lay unpeopl'd; and gave them that Iland to hold of him as in Homage. He was buried in *Caerlegion*, a City which he had wall'd about.

Guitheline his Son, is also remember'd, as a just and good Prince, and his Wife *Martia* to have excell'd so much in wisdom, as to venture upon a new Institution of Laws. Which King *Alfred* translating call'd *Marchen Leage*, but more truly therby is meant, the Mercian Law; not translated by *Alfred*, but digested or incorporated with the West-Saxon. In the minority of her Son she had the rule, and then, as may be suppos'd, brought forth these Laws, not her self, for Laws are Masculin Births, but by the advice of her sagest Counselors; and therin she might doe vertuously, since it befell her to supply the nonage of her Son: else nothing more awry from the Law of God and Nature, than that a Womian should give Laws to Men.

Hir Son *Sisilius* comming to Years receav'd
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the Rule ; then in order *Kimarus*, then *Danius* or *Elanius* his Brother. Then *Morindus*, his Son by *Tanguestela* a Coneubine, who is recorded a man of excessive Strength, Valiant, Liberal, and fair of Aspect, but immanely Cruell ; not sparing in his Anger, Enemy, or Freind, if any Weapon were in his hand. A certain King of the Morines, or Picards invaded Northumberland ; whose Army this King, though not wanting sufficient numbers, cheifly by his own prowes overcame : But dis honour'd his Victory by the cruel usage of his Prisners, whom his own hands, or others in his presence put all to several Deaths : well fitted to such a bestial Cruelty was his end ; for hearing of a huge Monster, that from the Irish Sea infested the Coast, and in the Pride of his Strength foolishly attempting to set manly valour against a Brute vastnes, when his Weapons were all in vain, by that horrible mouth he was catch't up and devour'd.

Gorbonian the Eldest of his five Sons, than whom a Juster man liv'd not in his Age, was a great builder of Temples, and gave to all what was thir due ; to his Gods devout Wor ship, to men of desert honour and preferment ; to the Commons encouragement in thir Labours, and Trades, defence and protection from injuries and oppressions, so that the Land florish'd above her Neighbours, Violence and Wrong seldom was heard of : his Death was a general losf : he was buried in *Trinovant*. *Archigallo* the second Brother follow'd not his Example ; but depress'd the ancient Nobility,

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and by peeling the wealthier fort, stuff'd his Treasury, and took the right way to be depos'd. *Elidure* the next Brother, furnam'd the Pious, was set up in his place; a mind so noble, and so moderat, as almost is incredible to have bin ever found. For having held the Scepter five Years, hunting one day in the Forest of *Calater*, he chanc'd to meet his depos'd Brother, wandring in mean condition: who had bin long in vain beyond the Seas, importuning Foren aides to his Restorem't: and was now in a poor Habit, with only ten followers, privatly return'd to find subsistence among his secret freinds. At the unexpected sight of him, *Elidure* himself also then but thinly accompanied, runns to him with open Arms; and after many dear and sincere welcomings, convaies him to the Citty *Alclud*; there hides him in his own Bed-Chamber. Afterwards faining himself sick, summons all his Peers as about greatest affairs; where admitting them one by one, as if his weakness endur'd not the disturbance of more at once, causes them willing, or unwilling, once more to swear Allegiance to *Archigallo*. Whom after reconciliation made on all sides, he leads to *York*; and from his own Head, places the Crown on the Head of his Brother. Who thenceforth, Vice it self dissolving in him, and forgetting her firmest hold with the admiration of a deed so Heroic, became a true converted man; rul'd worthily 10 Years; dy'd and was Buried in *Caerleir*. Thus was a Brother sav'd by a Brother, to whom love of

Crown

Crown, the thing that so often dazles, and vitiates mortal men, for which, thousands of neerest blood have destroy'd each other, was in respect of Brotherly dearness, a contemptible thing. *Elidure* now in his own behalf re-assumes the Government, and did as was worthy such a man to doe. When providence, that so great vertue might want no sort of tryal to make it more illustrious, stirs up *Vigenius*, and *Peredure* his youngest Brethren, against him who had deserv'd so nobly of that relation, as least of all by a Brother to be injur'd. Yet him they defeat, him they Imprison in the Towr of *Trinovant*, and divide his Kingdom; the North to *Peredure*, the South to *Vigenius*. After whose Death *Peredure* obtaining all, so much the better us'd his power, by how much the worse he got it. So that *Elidure* now is hardly miss't. But yet in all right owing to his Elder the due place whereof he had depriv'd him, Fate would that he should die first: and *Elidure* after many years Imprisonment, is now the third time seated on the Throne; which at last he enjoy'd long in Peace; finishing the interrupted course of his mild, and just Reign, as full of vertuous deeds, as daies to his end. After these five Sons of *Morindus*, succeeded also thir Sons in Order. * *Regin of Gorbonian, Marganus of Ar-chigallo*, both good Kings. But *Enniaunus* his Brother taking other courses, was after six years depos'd. Then *Idwallo* taught by a neer Example, Govern'd soberly. Then *Runno*, then *Geruntius*, He of *Peredure*, this last the

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Son of *Elidure*. From whose Loyns (for that likely is the durable, and surviving Race that springs of just Progenitors) issu'd a long descent of Kings, whose names only for many successions without other memory stand thus register'd, *Catellus*, *Coillus*, *Porrex*, *Cherin*, and his three Sons, *Fulgenius*, *Eldadus*, and *Andragius*, his Son *Urianus*; *Eliud*, *Eledanus*, *Clotenus*, *Gurguntius*, *Merianus*, *Bleduno*, *Capis*, *Oenus*, *Sisilius*, twentie Kings in a continu'd row, that either did nothing, or liv'd in Ages that wrote nothing, at least a foul pretermis-
sion in the Author of this, whether Story or Fable; himself wearie, as seems, of his own tedious Tale.

But to make amends for this Silence, *Blegabredus* next succeeding, is recorded to have excell'd all before him in the Art of Music; opportunely, had he but left us one Song of his twentie Predecessors doings. Yet after him nine more succeeded in name; His Brother *Archimailus*, *Eldol*, *Redion*, *Rederehius*, *Samulius*, *Perissel*, *Pir*, *Capoirus*, but *Cignellius*, with the addition of Modest, Wise, and Just. His Son *Heli* Reign'd 40 Years, and had three Sons, *Lud*, *Cassibelaun*, and *Nennius*. This *Heli* seems to be the same whom *Nennius* in his fragment calls *Minocan*; for him he writes to be the Father of *Cassibelan*. *Lud* was he that enlarg'd, and wall'd about *Trinovant*, there kept his Court, made it the prime City, and call'd it from his own name *Caer-Lud*, or *Luds Town*, now *London*. Which, as is al-
ledg'd out of *Gildas*, became matter of great
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dissention betwixt him, and his Brother *Nen-nius*; who took it hainously that the name of *Troy* thir ancient Country shoud be abolish'd for any new one. *Lud* was hardy, and bold in Warr, in Peace a jolly Feaster. He conquer'd many Ilands of the Sea, saith *Huntingdon*, and was buried by the Gate which from L. i. thence wee call *Ludgate*. His two Sons *Androgeus*, and *Tennantius*, were left to the tuition of *Cassibelan*; whose bounty, and high demeanor so wraught with the common people, as got him easily the Kingdom transferr'd upon himself. He nevertheless continuing to favour and support his Nefews, conferres freely upon *Androgeus*, *London* with *Kent*, upon *Tennantius*, *Cornwall*: reserving a superiority both over them, and all the other Princes to himself; till the *Romans* for a while circumscrib'd his power. Thus farr, though leaning only on the credit of *Geffrey Monmouth*, and his assērtors, I yet for the specify'd causes have thought it not beneath my purpose, to relate what I found. Wherto I neither oblige the beleif of other person, nor over-hastily subscribe mine own. Nor have I stood with others computing, or collating Years and Chronologies, lest I should be vainly curious about the time and circumstance of things wherof the substance is so much in doubt. By this time, like one who had set out on his way by night, and travail'd through a Region of smooth or idle Dreams, our History now arrivs on the Confines, where day-light and truth meet us with a cleer dawn,

representing to our view, though at a farr di-
stance, true colours and shapes. For albeit,
Cesar, whose Authority we are now first to fol-
low, wanted not who tax'd him of mis-re-
porting in his Commentaries, yea in his Civil
Warrs against *Pompey*, much more, may wee
think, in the *British affairs*, of whose little
skill in writing he did not easily hope to be
contradicted, yet now in such variety of
good Authors, we hardly can miss from one
hand or other to be sufficiently inform'd as of
things past so long agoe. But this will better
be referri'd to a seconde Discourse.

The End of the First Book.

T H E

THE
HISTORY
OF
BRITAIN.

BOOK II.

I Am now to write of what befell the *Britans* from *fifty and three years before the Birth of our Saviour*, when first the *Romans* came in, till the decay and ceasing of that Empire; a story of much truth, and for the first hundred years and somewhat more, Collected without much labour. So many and so prudent were the Writers, which those two, the Civilest, and the Wifest of *European Nations*, both *Italy* and *Greece*, afforded to the Actions of that Puissant Citty. For Worthy Deeds are not often destitute of worthy Relaters: As by a certain Fate great Acts and great Eloquence have most commonly gon hand in hand, equalling and honouring each other in the same Ages. 'Tis true, that in ob-

scurerst times, by shallow and unskilfull Writers, the indistinct noise of many Battels, and Devastations, of many Kingdoms over-run and lost, hath come to our Eares. For what wonder, if in all Ages, Ambition and the love of rapine hath stirr'd up greedy and violent men to bold attempts in wasting and Ruining Warrs, which to Posterity have left the work of Wild Beasts and Destroyers, rather than the Deeds and Monuments of Men and Conquerours? But he whose just and true valour uses the necessity of Warr and Dominion, not to destroy but to prevent destruction, to bring in Liberty against Tyrants, Law and Civility among barbarous Nations, knowing that when he Conquers all things else, he cannot Conquer *Time*, or *Detractiōn*, wisely conscious of this his want as well as of his worth not to be forgott'n or conceal'd, honours and hath recourse to the aid of Eloquence, his freindliest and best supply; by whose immortal Record his Noble Deeds, which else were transitory, becoming fixt and durable against the force of Yeares and Generations, he fails not to continue through all Posterity, over *Envie*, *Death*, and *Time*, also victorious. Therfore when the esteem of Science, and Liberal Study waxes low in the Common-wealth, wee may presume that also there all Civil Virtue, and worthy Action is grown as low to a decline: and then Eloquence, as it were consoned in the same destiny, with the decrease and fall of Virtue corrupts also and fades; at least resignes her office of relating, to illiterat and frivolous Historians;

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storians; such as the persons themselvs both
deserv, and are best pleas'd with; whilst they
want either the understanding to choose bet-
ter, or the innocence to dare invite the ex-
amining, and searching stile of an intelligent
and faithfull Writer to the survey of thir un-
sound exploits, better befreinded by obscuri-
ty than Fame. As for these, the only Authors
wee have of *Brittish* matters, while the power
of *Rome* reach'd hither, (for *Gildas* affirms that
of the *Roman* times noe *Brittish* Writer was in
his daies extant, or if any ever were, either
burnt by Enemies, or transported with such as
fled the *Pictish* and *Saxon* Invasions) these ther-
fore only *Roman* Authors there bee who in the
English Tongue have laid together, as much,
and perhaps more than was requisite to a Hi-
story of *Britan*. So that were it not for leav-
ing an unsightly gap so neer to the beginning,
I should have judg'd this labour, wherin so
little seems to be requir'd above transcription,
almost superfluous. Notwithstanding since I
must through it, if ought by diligence may
bee added, or omitted, or by other disposing
may be more explain'd, or more expref's'd, I
shall assay.

Julius Cæsar (of whom, and of the *Roman*
Free State, more than what appertains, is not
here to be discours'd) having subdu'd most
part of *Gallia*, which by a Potent Faction, he
had obtain'd of the Senat as his Province for
many years, stirr'd up with a desire of adding
still more glory to his name, and the whole *Roman*
Empire to his ambition, som say, with

Suetonius
Vit. Cæs.

a farr

Year before
Christ, 53.

Suetonius.
Cæsar Com.
L. I.

a farr meaner and ignobler, the desire of *British* Pearls, whose bignes he delighted to balance in his hand, determins, and that upon no unjust pretended occasion, to trie his Force in the Conquest also of *Britan*. For he understood that the *Britans* in most of his *Gallian* Warrs had sent Supplies against him, had receiv'd Fugitives of the *Bellovaci* his Enemies, and were call'd over to aid the Citties of *Armoria*, which had the year before conspir'd all in a new Rebellion. Therfore *Cæsar*, though now the Summer well nigh ending, and the season unagreeable to transport a Warr, yet judg'd it would be great advantage, only to get entrance into the *Ile*, knowledge of the men, the places, the ports, the accesses; which then, it seems, were eev'n to the *Gauls* thir Neighbours almost unknown. For except Merchants and Traders, it is not oft, saith he, that any use to Travel thether; and to those that doe, besides the Sea Coast, and the Ports next to *Gallia*, nothing else is known. But heer I must require, as *Pollio* did, the diligence, at least the memory of *Cæsar*: for if it were true, as they of *Rhemes* told him, that *Divitiacus*, not long before, a Puissant King of the *Soissons*, had *Britan* also under his Command, besides the *Belgian Colonies* which he affirms to have nam'd and peopl'd many Provinces there, if also the *Britans* had so frequently giv'n them aid in all thir Warrs, if lastly the *Druïd* learning honour'd so much among them, were at first taught them out of *Britan*, and they who soonest would attain that

*Cæsar Com.
L. 4.*

that Discipline, sent hether to learn; it appears not how *Britan* at that time should be so utterly unknow'n in *Gallia*, or only know'n to Merchants, yea to them so little, that bee-
ing call'd together from all parts, none could be found to inform *Cæsar* of what bignesf the Ile, what Nations, how great, what use of Warr they had, what Laws, or so much as what commodious Havens for bigger Vessels. Of all which things as it were then first to make discovery, he sends *Caius Volusenus*, in a long Galley, with Command to return assoon as this could be effected. Hee in the mean time with his whole power draws nigh to the *Morine Coast*, whence the shorkest passage was into *Britan*. Hether his Navy which he us'd against the *Armoricans*, and what else of Ship-
ping can be provided, he draws together. This known in *Britan*, Embassadors are sent from many of the States there, who promise Hostages, and Obedience to the *Roman Em-
pire*. Them, after Audience giv'n, *Cæsar* as largely promising, and exhorting to continue in that mind, sends home, and with them *Co-
mimus of Arras*, whom he had made King of that Country, and now secretly employ'd to gain a *Roman* party among the *Britans*, in as many Citties as he found inclinable, and to tell them, that he himself was speeding thether. *Volusenus* with what discovery of the *Iland* he could make from aboard his Ship, not daring to venture on the shoar, within five daies returns to *Cæsar*. Who soon after, with two Legions, ordinarily amounting, of *Ro-
mans*

mans and thir Allies, to about 25000 Foot, and 4500 Horse, the Foot in 80 Ships of bur-den, the Horse in 18, besides what Gallies were appointed for his Chief Commanders, setts off about the third watch of night with a good Gale to Sea ; leaving behind him *Sulpitius Rufus* to make good the Port with a sufficient strength. But the Horse whose appointed Shipping lay Wind-bound eight mile upward in another Hav'n, had much trouble to Imbark. *Cesar* now within sight of *Britan* beholds on every Hill multitudes of armed men, ready to forbid his Landing ; and *Cicero* writes to his Freind *Atticus*, that the accesses of the Iland were wondrously fortify'd with strong Workes or Moles. Heer from the fowrth to the ninth hour of day he awaits at Anchor the coming up of his whole Fleet : Mean while with his Legatts and Tribuns consulting, and giying order to fitt all things for what might happ'n in such a various, and floating water-fight as was to be expected. This place, which was a narrow Bay, close environ'd with Hills, appearing no way Comodious, he removes to a plain and open shoar eight Mile distant ; commonly suppos'd about *Deal in Kent*. Which when the *Britans* perceav'd, thir Horse and Chariots, as then they us'd in fight, scowring before, thir main powr speeding after, som thick upon the shoar, others not tarrying to be assail'd, ride in among the Waves to encounter, and assault the *Romans* cev'n under their Ships ; with such a bold, and free hardihood, that *Cesar* himself

Cic. Att. L.
4 Ep. 17.

Camden.

self between confessing and excusing that his Souldiers were to com down from thir Ships, to stand in water heavy arm'd, and to fight at once, denies not but that the terrour of such new and resolute opposition made them forget thir wonted valour. To succour which, he commands his Gallies, a sight unusual to the *Britans*, and more apt for motion, drawn from the bigger Vessels, to row against the op'n side of the Enemy, and thence with Slings, Engines, and Darts, to beat them back. But neither yet, though amaz'd at the strangeness of those new Sea-Castles, bearing up so neer, and so swiftly as almost to overwhelm them, the hurtling of Oares, the battring of feirce Engines against thir bodies barely expos'd, did the *Britans* give much ground, or the *Romans* gain; till he who bore the *Eagle of the Tenth Legion*, yet in the Gallies, first beseeching his Gods, said thus alowd, *Leap down Souldiers, unless ye mean to betray your Ensigne; I for my part will perform what I owe to the Commonwealth and my General.* This utter'd, over-board he leaps, and with his Eagle feircly advanc'd runs upon the Enemy, the rest hartning one another not to admit the dishonour of so nigh losing thir Chief Standard, follow him resolute-ly. Now was fought eagerly on both sides. Ours who well knew thir own advantages, and expertly us'd them, now in the shallows, now on the Sand, still as the *Romans* went trooping to thir Ensignes, receav'd them, dispatch'd them, and with the help of thir Horse, put them every where to great disorder. But *Cesar* cau-

sing all his Boats and Shallops to be fill'd with Souldiers, commanded to ply up and down continually with releif where they saw need; wherby at length all the Foot now dis-im-bark't, and got together in som order on firm ground, with a more steddy charge put the *Britans* to flight : but wanting all thir Horse, whom the winds yet with-held from Sailing, they were not able to make poursuit. In this confused fight *Scæva a Roman Souldier*, having press'd too far among the *Britans*, and besett round, after incredible valour shewn, single against a multitude, swom back safe to his General ; and in the place that rung with his praises, earnestly besought pardon for his rash adventure against Discipline : which modest confessing after no bad event, for such a deed wherin valour, and ingenuity so much outweigh'd transgression, easily made amends, and preferr'd him to be a Centurion. *Casa*

In Cesarib. also is brought in by *Julian*, attributing to himself the honour (if it were at all an honour to that person which he sustain'd) of being the first that left his Ship, and took Land: but this were to make *Cesar* les understand what became him than *Scæva*. The *Britan* finding themselvs maister'd in fight, forthwith send Embassadors to treat of Peace ; promising to give Hostages, and to be at Command With them *Comius of Arras* also return'd whom hitherto since his first coming from *Cesar*, they had detain'd in Prison as a Spy : the blame whereof they lay on the Common Peo-ple ; for whose violence, and thir own imprudent

Valer.

Max. Plutarch.

dence they crave pardon. *Cesar* complaining they had first fought Peace, and then without cause had begun War, yet content to pardon them, commands Hostages: wherof part they bring in strait, others farr up in the Country to be sent for, they promise in a few daies. Mean while the people disbanded and sent home, many Princes, and Chief Men from all parts of the Ile submit themselves and thir Citties to the dispose of *Cesar*, who lay then encamp'd, as is thought, on *Baram down*. Thus had the *Britans* made thir peace; when suddenly an accident unlook'd for put new counsels into thir minds. Fowr daies after the coming of *Cesar*, those 18 Ships of burden, which from the upper hav'n had tak'n in all the *Roman Horse*, born with a soft wind to the very Coast, in sight of the *Roman Camp*, were by a sudden tempest scatter'd, and driv'n back, some to the Port from whence they loos'd, others down into the West Country; who finding there no safety either to Land, or to cast Anchor, chose rather to commit themselvs again to the troubl'd Sea; and as *Orosius* reports, were most of them cast away. The same night, it being Full Moon, the Gallies left upon dry Land, were unaware to the *Romans*, cover'd with a Spring-tide, and the greater Ships that lay off at Anchor, torn and beat'n with Waves, to the great perplexity of *Cesar*, and his whole Army; who now had neither Shipping left to convoy them back, nor any provision made to stay heer, intending to have winter'd in *Gallia*. All this the *Britans* well

well perceaving, and by the compass of his Camp, which without baggage appear'd the smaller, guessing at his numbers, consult together, and one by one sily withdrawing from the Camp, where they were waiting the conclusion of a Peace, resolve to stop all Provisions, and to draw out the busines till Winter. *Cesār* though ignorant of what they intended, yet from the condition wherin he was, and thir other Hostages not sent, suspecting what was likely, begins to provide apace, all that might be, against what might happ'n: Iaies in Corn, and with materials fetch'd from the Continent, and what was left of those Ships which were past help, he repairs the rest. So that now by the incessant labour of his Souldiers, all but twelv were again made serviceable. While these things are doing, one of the Legions being sent out to forrage, as was accustom'd, and no suspicion of Warr, while som of the *Britans* were remaining in the Country about; others also going and coming freely to the *Roman Quarters*, they who were in station at the Camp Gates sent speedy word to *Cesār*, that from that part of the Country, to which the Legion went, a greater dust than usual was seen to rise. *Cesār* guessing the matter, commands the Cohorts of Guard to follow him thether, two others to succeed in thir stead, the rest all to arm and follow. They had not march'd long, when *Cesār* discerns his Legion sore overcharg'd: for the *Britans* not doubting but that thir Enemies on the morrow, would be in that place which only they had left unreas'd

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Book H. The history of England.

49

of all thir Harvest, had plac'd an Ambush ; and while they were disperst and busiest at thir labour, set upon them, kill'd som, and routed the rest. The manner of thir fight was from a kind of Chariots ; wherin riding about, and throwing Darts, with the clutter of thir Horse, and of thir Wheels, they oft-times broke the rank of thir Enemies ; then retreating among the Horse, and quitting their Chariots, they fought on Foot. The Charioters, in the mean while somewhat aside from the Battel, set themselvs in such order, that thir Masters at any time oppres'd with odds, might retire safely thether, having perform'd with one person both the nimble service of a Horseman, and the stedfast duty of a Foot Souldier. So much they could with thir Chariots by use, and exercise, as riding on the speed down a steep Hill, to stop suddenly, and with a short rein turn swiftly, now running on the beam, now on the Yoke, then in the Seat. With this sort of new skirmishing, the *Romans* now overmatch'd, and terrify'd, *Cesar* with opportune aid appears ; for then the *Britans* make a stand : But he considering that now was not fitt time to offer Battel, while his men were scarce recover'd of so late a fear, only keeps his ground, and soon after leads back his Legions to the Camp. Furder action for many days following was hinder'd on both sides by foul weather ; in which time the *Britans* dispatching Messengers round about, to how few the *Romans* were reduc'd, what hope of prise and booty, and now if ever of freeing them-

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selvs

selvs from the fear of like invasions heerafter by making these an example, if they could but now uncamp thir Enemies; at this intimation multitudes of Horse and Foot coming down from all parts make towards the *Romans*. *Cesār* foreseeing that the *Britans* though beat'n and put to flight would easily evade his Foot, yet with no more than 30 Horse, which *Cominius* had brought over, draws out his men to Battel, puts again the *Britans* to flight, pursues with slaughter, and returning burns and laies waste all about. Wherupon Embassadors the same day being sent from the *Britans* to desire Peace, *Cesār*, as his affars at present stood; for so great a breach of Faith, only imposes on them double the former hostages, to be sent after him into *Gallia*: And because September was nigh half spent, a season not fit to tempt the Sea with his weather-beat'n Fleet the same night with a fair wind he departs towards *Belgia*; whether two only of the *Britan* Citties sent Hostages, as they promis'd, the rest neglected. But at *Rome* when the new came of *Cesārs* Acts here, whether it were esteem'd a Conquest, or a fair Escape, supplication of 20 daies is decreed by the Senate, either for an exploit done, or a discover made, wherin both *Cesār* and the *Romans* grieved not a little, though it brought no benefit either to him, or the Common-wealth.

Dion.

Cesār Com.
5.

The Winter following, *Cesār*, as his custon was, going into *Italy*, when as he saw that most of the *Britans* regarded not to send thir Hostages, appoints his Legats whom he left in *Belgia*.

Belgia, to provide what possible Shipping they could either build, or repair. Low built they were to bee, as therby easier both to fraught, and to hale ashore ; nor needed to be higher, because the Tyde so often changing, was observ'd to make the Billows less in our Sea than those in the *Mediterranean* : broader likewise they were made, for the better transporting of Horses, and all other fraughtage, being intended cheifly to that end. These all about 600 in a readines, with 28 Ships of burden, and what with adventurers, and other hulks above 200, *Cotta* one of the Legates wrote them, as *Athenaeus* affirms, in all 1000, *Cesar* from Port *Iccius*, a passage of som 30 mile over, leaving behind him *Labienus* to guard the hav'n, and for other supply at need, with five Legions, though but 2000 Horse, about Sun sett hoysing saile with a slack South-West, at midnight was becalm'd. And finding when it was light, that the whole Navy lying on the current, had fal'n off from the Ile, which now they could descry on thir left hand, by the unwearied labour of his Souldiers, who refus'd not to tugg the Oare, and kept course with Ships under sail, he bore up as neer as might bee, to the same place where he had landed the year before ; where about noon arriving, no Enemy could be seen. For the *Britans*, which in great number, as was after know'n, had bin there, at sight of so huge a Fleet durst not abide. *Cesar* forthwith landing his Army, and encamping to his best advantage, som notice being giv'n him by those he took, where

Before the
Birth of
Christ, 52.

to find the Enemy, with his whole power, save only ten cohorts, and 300 Horse, left to *Quintus Atrius* for the guard of his Ships, about the third watch of the same night marches up twelv mile into the Country. And at length by a River commonly thought the *Stowre* in *Kent*, espies embattail'd *the British Forces*. They with thir Horses and Chariots advancing to the higher Banks, oppose the *Romans* in thir March, and begin the fight; but repulst by the *Roman Cavalrie* give back into the Woods to a place notably made strong both by Art and Nature; which, it seems, had bin a Fort, or Hold of strength rays'd heerto-fore in time of Warrs among themselvs. For entrance, and access on all sides, by the felling of huge Trees overthwart one another, was quite barr'd up; and within these the *Britans* did thir utmost to keep out the Enemy. But the Souldiers of the seventh Legion locking all thir Sheilds together like a rooff close over head, and others raysing a Mount, without much los of blood took the place, and drove them all to forsake the Woods. Pursuit they made not long, as beeing through ways unknow'n; and now ev'ning came on, which they more wisely spent, in choosing out where to pitch and fortify thir Camp that night. The next Morning *Cesar* had but newly sent out his Men in three Bodies to poursue, and the last no furder gon than yet in sight, when Horsemen all in Poste from *Quintus Atrius* bring word to *Cesar*, that almost all his Ships in a Tempest that night had suffer'd wrack,
and

and lay brok'n upon the shoar. *Casar* at this news recalls his Legions, himself in all hast riding back to the Sea-side, beheld with his own Eyes the ruinous prospect. About forty Vessels were sunk and lost, the residue so torn, and shak'n as not to be new rigg'd without much labour. Strait he assembles what number of Ship-wrights either in his own Legions or from beyond Sea, could be summon'd; appoints *Labienus* on the *Belgian* side to build more; and with a dreadful industry of ten days, not respiting his Souldiers day or night, drew up all his Ships, and entrench'd them round within the circuit of his Camp. This don, and leaving to thir defence the same strength as before, he returns with his whole Forces to the same Wood, where he had defeated the *Britans*: who preventing him with greater powers than before, had now reposseſd themſelvſ of that place, under *Cassibelan* thir cheif Leader. Whose Territory from the States bordering on the Sea was divided by the *River Thames* about 80 mile inward. With him formerly other Citties had continual Warr; but now in the common danger had all made choife of him to be thir Generall. Heer the *British* Horse and Charioters meeting with the *Roman* Cavalrie fought stoutly; and at first, somthing overmatch'd they retreat to the neer advantage of thir Woods and Hills, but still follow'd by the *Romans*, make head again, cut off the forwardest among them, and after ſome paufe, while *Casar*, who thought the days work had bin don,

was busied about the entrenching of his Camp, march out again, give feirce assault to the very Stations of his Guards and Senteries, and while the main cohorts of two Legions that were sent to the Alarme, stood within a small distance of each other terrify'd at the newnes and the boldness of thir fight, charg'd back again through the midst, without loss of a man. Of the *Romans* that day was slain *Quintus Laberius Durus* a Tribune : the *Britans* having fought thir fill at the very entrance of *Cesars* Camp, and sustain'd the resistance of his whole Army entrench'd, gave over the assault. *Cesar* heer acknowledges that the *Roman* way both of arming, and of fighting, was not so well fitted against this kind of Enemy ; for that the Foot in heavy Armour could not follow thir cunning flight, and durst not by ancient Discipline stirr from thir Ensigne ; and the Horse alone, disjoyn'd from the Legions, against a Foe that turn'd suddenly upon them with a mixt encounter both of Horse and Foot, were in equall danger both following and retiring. Besides thir fashion was, not in great bodies, and close order, but in small divisions, and open distances to make thir onset ; appointing others at certain spaces, now to releev and bring off the weary, now to succeed and renew the conflict ; which argu'd no small experience, and use of Armes. Next day the *Britans* afarr off upon the Hills begin to shew themselves heer and there, and though less boldly than before, to skirmish with the *Roman* Horse. But at Noon *Cesar* having sem

out three Legions, and all his Horse with *Trebonius* the Legat, to seek fodder, suddenly on all sides they set upon the Forragers, & charge up after them to the very Legions, and thir Standards. The *Romans* with great courage beat them back, and in the chace, beeing well seconded by the Legions, not giving them time either to rally, to stand, or to descend from thir Chariots as they were wont, slew many. From this overthrow, the *Britans*, that dwelt farder off, betook them home ; and came no more after that time with so great a power against *Cesar*. Wheroft advertis'd he marches onward to the Frontiers of *Cassibelan*, which on this side were bounded by the *Thames*, not passable except in one place and that difficult, about *Coway stakes neer Oatlands*, as is conjectur'd. Hither coming he descries on the other side great Forces of the Enemy, plac'd in good Array ; the bank sett all with sharp stakes, others in the bottom, cover'd with water ; whereof the marks in *Beda's* time, were to be feene, as he relates. This having learnt by such as were tak'n, or had run to him, he first commands his Horse to pass over ; then his Foot, who wadeing up to the neck went on so resolutely, and so fast, that they on the furder side not enduring the violence, retreated and fled. *Cassibelan* noe more now in hope to contend for Victorie, dismissing all but 4000 of those Charioters, through Woods, and intricate waies attends thir motion ; where the *Romans* are to pass, drives all before him ; and with continual sallies upon the Horse, where

they least expected, cutting off some and terrifying others, compells them soe close together, as gave them no leave to fetch in prey or bootie without ill success. Wherupon *Cesar* strictly commanding all not to part from the Legions, had nothing left him in his way but empty Fields and Houses, which he spoil'd and burnt. Meane while the *Trinobantes* a State or Kingdome, and perhaps the greatest then among the *Britans*, less favouring *Cassibelan* send Embassadors, and yeild to *Cesar* upon this reason. *Immanuentius* had bin thir King: him *Cassibelan* had slaine, and purpos'd the like to *Mandubratius* his Son, whom *Orosius* calls *Androgorius*, *Beda Androogius*; but the youth escaping by flight into *Gallia*, put himself under the protection of *Cesar*. These entreat that *Mandubratius* may be still defended; and sent home to succeed in his Fathers right. *Cesar* sends him, demands forty Hostages and Provision for his Armie, which they immediately bring in, and have thir Confines protected from the Souldier. By thir Example the *Cenimagni*, *Segontiaci*, *Ancalites*, *Bibrocii*, *Cassi* (so I write them for the modern names are but guesf'd) on like terms make thir peace. By them he learns that the Town of *Cassibelan*, suppos'd to be *Verulam*, was not farr distant; fenc't about with Woods and Marshes, well stuff't with men and much Cattel. For Towns then in *Britain* were only Wooddy places ditch't round, and with a Mud Wall encompass'd against the inrodes of Enemies. Therer goes *Cesar* with his Legions, and thought
a place

a place of great strength both by Art and Nature, assaults it in two places. The *Britans* after som defence fled out all at another end of the Town ; in the flight many were taken, many slain, and great store of Cattel found there. *Cassibelan* for all these losses yet deserts not himself ; nor was yet his Authoritie so much impair'd, but that in *Kent*, though in a manner posselt by the Enemie, his Messengers and Commands finde obedience anough to raise all the People. By his direction *Cingetorix*, *Carvilius*, *Taximagulus* and *Segonax*, fowr Kings Reigning in those Countries which ly upon the Sea, lead them on to assault that Camp wherin the *Romans* had entrench'd thir Shipping : but they whom *Cesar* left there, issuing out slew many, and took Prisners *Cingetorix* a noted Leader, without loss of thir own. *Cassibelan* after so many defeats, mov'd especially by revolt of the Citties from him, thir inconstancie and falsehood one to another, uses mediation by *Comius of Arras* to send Embassadors about Treatie of Yeilding. *Cesar* who had determin'd to Winter in the Continent, by reason that *Gallia* was unsettl'd, and not much of the Summer now behind, commands him only Hostages, and what yearly Tribute the Iland should pay to *Rome*, forbids him to molest the *Trinobants*, or *Mandubratius*; and with his Hostages, and great number of Captives he puts to Sea, having at twice embark't his whole Armie. At his return to *Pliny*. Rome, as from a glorious enterprise, he offers to *Venus the Patroness of his Family*, a Corflet of British

British Pearles. Howbeit other Ancient Writers have spok'n more doubtfully of *Cesars* Victories heer; and that in plaine termes he fled from hence; for which the common Verse in *Lucan*, with divers passages heer and there
Oros. Lib. 6. in *Tacitus* is alleg'd. *Paulus Orosius*, who took
cap. 7. & 9. what he wrote from a Historie of *Suetonius* now lost, writes that *Cesar* in his first journey entertain'd with a sharp fight lost no small number of his Foot, and by tempest nigh all his Horse. *Dion* affirms that once in the second Expedition all his Foot were routed, *Orosius* that another time all his Horse. The British Author, whom I use only then when others are all silent, hath many trivial Discourses of *Cesars* beeing heer, which are best omitted. Nor have wee more of *Cassibelan*, than what the same storie tells, how he warr'd soon after with *Androgenus*, about his Nefew slain by *Evelinus* Nefew to the other; which busines at length compos'd, *Cassibelan* dies and was buried in *Torke*, if the *Monmouth Book Fable not*. But at *Cesars* coming hither, such like liest were the *Britans*, as the Writers of those times, and thir own actions represent them; in courage and warlike readines to take advantage by ambush or sudden onset, not inferiour to the *Romans*, nor *Cassibelan* to *Cesar*, in Weapons, Armes, and the skill of Encamping, Embattailing, Fortifying, overmatch't; thir Weapons were a short Speare and light Target, a Sword also by thir side, thir fight sometimes in Chariots phang'd at the Axle with Iron Sithes, thir bodies most part naked, only
Dion.
Mila.
Cesar.
painted

painted with woad in sundrie figures to seem
 terrible as they thought, but pourfu'd by Ene-
 mies, not nice of thir painting to run into
 Bogs, worse than *wild Irish* up to the Neck,
 and there to stay many daies holding a certain
 morsel in thir mouths no bigger than a bean, *Herodian.*
 to suffice hunger; but that receipt, and the
 temperance it taught, is long since unknown
 among us: thir Towns and strong Holds were
 spaces of ground fenc't about with a Ditch *Dion.*
 and great Trees fell'd overthwart each other,
 thir buildings within were thatch't Houses for *Strabo.*
 themselvs and thir Cattell: In peace the Up-
 land Inhabitants besides hunting tended thir *Dion.*
 flocks and heards, but with little skill of Coun-
 tries affaires; the making of Cheeze they com-
 monly knew not, Woole or Flaxthey spun not, *Strabo.*
 gard'ning and planting many of them knew
 not; clothing they had none, but what the
 skins of Beasts afforded them, and that not al-
 waies; yet gallantrie they had, painting thir *Herodian.*
 own skins with several Portratures of Beast, *Solinus.*
 Bird, or Flower, *A Vanitie which hath not yet*
left us, remov'd only from the skin to the skirt be-
hung now with as many colour'd Ribands and Gew-
gawes; towards the Sea side they till'd the *Cesar.*
 ground and liv'd much after the manner of
 Gaules thir Neighbours, or first Planters: thir
 money was brazen Pieces or iron Rings, thir *Tacitus, Di-*
 best Merchandise Tin, the rest trifles of Glafs, *odor. Strab.*
 Ivorie and such like; yet Gemms and Pearles
 they had, saith *Mela,* in som Rivers: thir Ships *Lucan.*
 of light timber wickerd with Oysier between,
 and coverd over with Leather, serv'd not
 therefore

*Tacitus.**Mela.**Dion.**Cesar.**Cesar.*

therefore to transport them far, and thir Commodities were fetch't away by Foren Merchants : thir dealing, saith *Diodorus*, plain and simple without fraude ; thir Civil Government under many Princes and States, not confederate or consulting in common, but mistrustful, and oft-times warring one with the other, which gave them up one by one an easie Conquest to the *Romans* : thir Religion was govern'd by a sort of Priests or Magicians call'd *Druides* from the Greek name of an *Oke*, which Tree they had in great reverence, and the *Misfeto* especially growing theron ; *Plinie* writes them skill'd in Magic no less than those of *Persia* : by thir abstaining from a Hen, a Hare, and a Goose, from Fish also, saith *Dion*, and thir Opinion of the Soules passing after Death into other Bodies, they may be thought to have studied *Pythagoras* ; yet Philosophers I cannot call them, reported men factious and ambitious, contending somtimes about the Archpriesthood not without Civil Warr and slaughter ; nor restrain'd they the People under them from a lew'd adulterous and incestuous life, ten or twelv men absurdly against Nature, possessing one woman as thir common Wife, though of neerest Kin, Mother, Daughter, or Sister ; Progenitors not to be glori'd in. But the Gospel, not long after preach't heer abolish'd such impurities, and of the *Romans* we have cause not to say much worse, than that they beate us into som civilitie ; likely else to have continu'd longer in a barbarous and savage manner of life. After *Julius* (for *Julius* before

before his Death tyrannously had made himself Emperor of the *Roman* Common-wealth, and was slaine in the Senate for so doing) he who next obtain'd the Empire, *Octavianus Caesar Augustus*, either contemning the *Iland*, as *Strabo* would have us think, whose neither benefit was worth the having, nor enmitie worth the fearing ; or out of a wholsome State-maxim, as som say, to moderate and bound the Empire from growing vast and unweildie, made no attempt against the *Britans*. But the truer cause was partly civil Warr among the *Romans*, partly other affairs more urging. For about 20 Years after, all which time the *Britans* had liv'd at thir own dispose, *Augustus* in imitation of his Uncle *Julius*, either intending or seeming to intend an expedition hither, was com into *Gallia*, when the news of a Revolt in *Pannonia* diverted him : About seven year after in the same Resolution, what with the unsettldness of *Gallia*, and what with Embassadors from *Britain* which met him there, he proceeded not. The next year, difference arising about Coynants, he was again prevented by other new Commotions in *Spaine*. Nevertheless some of the *British Potentates* omitted not to seek his freindship by guifts offer'd in the Capitol, and other obsequious addresses. Insomuch that the whole *Iland* became eev'n in those daies well known to the *Romans*; too well perhaps for them, who from the knowledge of us were so like to prove Enemies. But as for Tribute, the *Britans* paid none to *Augustus*, except what easie Cullomes were levied on

*Strabo L. 2.*Year before
the Birth of
Christ, 32.*Dion. L. 49.*Year before
the Birth of
Christ, 25.*Dion. L. 53.*

24.

Strabo L. 4.

on the slight Commodities wherewith they traded into *Gallia*. After *Cassibelan*, *Tenantius* the younger Son of *Lud*, according to the *Monmouth Storie* was made King. For *Androgeum* the Elder, conceaving himself generally hated, for sideing with the *Romans*, forsook his claime heire, and follow'd *Casars* Fortune. This King is recorded *Just and Warlike*. His Son *Kymbeline* or *Cunobeline* succeding, was brought up, as is said, in the Court of *Augustus*, and with him held freindly correspondencies to the end; was a warlike Prince; his Chief Seat *Camalidunum*, or *Maldon*, as by certain of his Coines yet to be seen, appears. *Tiberius* the next Emperor, adhering alwaies to the advice of *Agustus*, and of himself less careing to exten the bounds of his Empire, fought not the *Britans*; and they as little to incite him, sent home courteously the Souldiers of *Germanicus*, that by Shipwrack had bin cast on the *Britan shoar*. But *Caligula* his Successor, a wild and dissolute Tyrant, haveing past the *Alpes* with intent to rob and spoile those Provinces, & stirr'd up by *Adminiu* the Son of *Cunobeline*, who by his Father banish'd, with a small number fled thether to him, made semblance of marching toward *Britan*; but beeing come to the Ocean, and there behaveing himself madly, and ridiculously, went back the same way: yet sent before him boasting Letters to the Senate, as if all *Britan* had bin yeilded him. *Cunobeline* now dead, *Adminiu* the Eldest by his Father banish'd from his Country, and by his own practice against it, from the Crown, though

Tacit. an. L.
2.
Year after
the Birth
of Christ,
16.

*Dion. Sue-
ton. Cal.*
An. Dom.

40.

though by an old Coine seeming to have also
reign'd; *Togodumnus*, and *Caractacus* the two
younger, uncertaine whether equal or subor-
dinat in power, were advanc'd into his place.
But through civil discord, *Bericus* (what he *Dion.*
was furder, is not known) with others of his
party flying to *Rome*, perswaded *Claudius* the
Emperor to an Invasion. *Claudius* now Con-
sul the third time, and desirous to do some-
thing, whence he might gain the honour of a
Triumph, at the persuasion of these fugitives, *Sueton.*
whom the *Britans* demanding, he had deny'd
to render, and they for that cause had deny'd
furder amity with *Rome*, makes choise of *this*
land for his Province: and sends before him
Julius Plantinus the Praetor, with this command,
if the busines grew difficult to give him no-
tice. *Plantinus* with much ado perswaded the
Legions to move out of *Gallia*, murmuring
that now they must be put to make Warr be-
yond the Worlds End; for so they counted
Britan; and what welcom *Julius* the Dictator
found there, doubtless they had heard. At last
prevail'd with, and hoysing saile from three
several Ports, lest thir Landing should in any
one place be resisted, meeting cross winds, they
were cast back and disheartn'd: till in the
night a Meteor shooting flames from the East,
and, as they fans'd, directing thir course, they
took heart again to try the Sea, and without
opposition Landed. For the *Britans* haveing
heard of thir unwillingnes to come, had bin
negligent to provide against them; and retire-
ing to the Woods and Moares, intended to fru-
strate,

strate, and wear them out with delaies, as they had serv'd *Cesar* before. *Plautius* after much trouble to find them out, encoutring first with *Caratacus*, then with *Togodumnus*, overthrew them; and receaving into conditions part of the *Boduni*, who then were subject to the *Ca-tuellani*, and leaving there a Garrison, went on toward a River; where the *Britans* not imagining that *Plautius* without a bridge could passe, lay on the furder side careleſs and ſecure. But he ſending first the *Germans*, whose cuſtome was, arm'd as they were, to ſwim with eaſe the ſtrongeſt current, commands them to ſtrike especially at the Horses, whereby the Chariots, wherein coniſted thir chief art of fight, became unſerviceable. To ſecond them he ſent *Veffatian*, who in his later daies obtain'd the Empire, and *Sabinus* his Brother; who unexpediently affailing thoſe who were leaſt aware, did muſch execution. Yet not for this were the *Britans* diſmaid; but reuniteing the next day fought with ſuſh a courage, as made it hard to decide which way hung the Victorie: till *Caius Sidiſ Geta*, at point to have bin tak'n, recover'd himſelf ſo valiantly, as brought the day on his ſide; for which at *Rome* he receav'd high honours. After this the *Britans* drew back toward the mouth of *Thames*, and acquainted with thoſe places, cross'd over, where the *Romans* following them through boggs and dangerous flats, hazarded the loſs of all. Yet the *Germans* getting over, and others by a bridge at ſome place above, fell on them again with fundry Alarmes and great

great slaughter ; but in the heat of pursuit running themselvs again into Bogs and Mires, lost as many of thir own. Upon which ill success, and seeing the *Britans* more enrag'd at the Death of *Togodumnus*, who in one of these Battels had bin slain, *Plautius* fearing the worst, and glad that he could hold what he held, as was enjoyn'd him, sends to *Claudius*. He who waited ready with a huge preparation, as if not safe enough amidst the flowr of all his *Romans*, like a great Eastern King, with armed Elephants marches through *Gallia*. So full of peril was this enterprise esteem'd, as not without all this Equipage, and stranger terrors than *Roman* Armies to meet the Native and the naked *British* Valour defending their Country. Joyn'd with *Plautius* who encamping on the Bank of *Thames* attended him, he passes the River. The *Britans*, who had the courage, but not the wise conduct of old *Casfibelan*, laying all Stratagem aside, in down right Manhood scrupl'd not to affront in op'n field almost the whole Powr of the *Roman Empire*. But overcome and vanquish'd, part by force, others by treatie com in and yeild. *Claudius* therfore who took *Camalodunum*, the Royal Seat of *Cunobeline*, was oft'n by his Armie saluted *Imperator*; a Militarie Title which usually they gaye thir General after any notable exploit; but to others not above once in the same Warr; as if *Claudius* by these Acts had deservd more than the Laws of *Rome* had provided honour to reward. Having therfore disarm'd the *Britans*, but remitted the confis-

Dion. L.62.

Tacit. an.

14.

44.

cation of thir goods, for which they worship'd him with Sacrifice and Temple as a God, leaving *Plautius* to subdue what remain'd ; he returns to *Rome*, from whence he had bin absent only six moneths, and in *Britan* but 16 daies ; sending the news before him of his Victories, though in a small part of the *Iland*. To whom the Senate, as for atchievements of highest merit, decree'd excessive honours ; *Arches*, *Triumphs*, annual *Solemnities*, and the Surname of *Britannicus* both to him and his Son. *Suetonius* writes that *Claudius* found heer no resistance, and that all was done without stroke : but this seems not probable. *The Monmouth Writer* names these two Sons of *Cunobeline*, *Guideriu*, and *Arviragus* ; that *Guiderius* beeing slain in fight, *Arviragus* to conceale it, put on his Brothers Habillements, and in his person held up the Battel to a Victorie ; the rest, as of *Hamo* the *Roman Captaine*, *Genuissa* the Emperours Daughter, and such like stuff, is too palpably untrue to be worth rehersing in the midst of Truth. *Plautius* after this, employing his fresh Forces to Conquer on, and quiet the rebelling Countries, found work anough to deserve at his returne a kind of Tryumphant riding into

Suetonius. the *Capitol* side by side with the Emperour. *Vc.* *Claud. 5.24* *Vespian* also under *Plautius* had thirtie conflicts

*Sueton.**Vesp.**Dion. L. 60.*

47.

with the Enemie ; in one of which encompas'd and in great danger, he was valiantly and piouly rescu'd by his Son *Titus* : Two powerfull Nations he subdu'd heer, above 20 Townes and the *Ile of Wight* ; for which he receaved at *Rome* Tryumphal Ornaments, and other

other great Dignities, *For that Cittie in reward
of virtue was ever magnificent : and long after
when true merit was ceas'd among them, lest any
thing resembling virtue should want honour, the
same rewards were yet allow'd to the very shadow
and ostentation of merit.* *Ostorius* in the room of
Plautius Vice-prætor, met with turbulent af-
faires; the *Britans* not ceasing to vex with in-
rodes all those Countries that were yeilded to
the *Romans*; and now the more eagerly, sup-
posing that the new General unacquainted
with his Armie, and on the edge of Winter,
would not hastily oppose them. But he waigh-
ing that first events were most available to
breed fear or contempt, with such cohorts as
were next at hand sets out against them: whom
having routed, so close he follows, as one who
meant not to be everie day molested with the
cavils of a slight peace, or an emboldn'd Ene-
mie. Lest they should make head again, he
disarmes whom he suspects; and to surround
them, places many Garrisons upon the Rivers
of *Antona* and *Sabrina*. But the *Icenians*, a
stout people untouched yet by these Warrs, as
having before sought alliance with the *Romans*,
were the first that brook'd not this. By thir
example others rise; and in a chosen place,
fenc't with high Banks of Earth, and narrow
Lanes to prevent the Horse, warily Encampe.
Ostorius, though yet not strengthn'd with his
Legions, causes the Auxiliar Bands, his Troops
also alighting, to assault the rampart. They
within though pester'd with thir own number,
stood to it like men resolv'd, and in a narrow

Tacitus an.
124

50.

compass did remarkable deeds. But over-powered at last, and others by thir success quieted, who till then waverd, *Ostorius* next bends his Force upon the *Cangians*, wafting all eeven to the Sea of *Ireland*, without Foe in his way, or them, who durst, ill handl'd ; when the *Brigantes* attempting new matters, drew him back to settle first what was unsecure behind him. They, of whom the chief were punish'd, the rest forgiv'n, soon gave over, but the *Silures* no way tractable were not to be repress'd without a fet Warr. To furder this, *Camalodunum* was planted with a Colony of *Veteran Souldiers* to be a firme and readie aid against revolts, and a means to teach the Natives *Roman Law* and *Civilitie*. *Cogidunnus* also a *British King*, thir fast freind, had to the same intent certain Citties giv'n him : a haughtie craft, which the *Romans* us'd, to make Kings also the servile agents of enslaving others. But the *Silures* hardie of themselvs, rely'd more on the valour of *Caradac*; whom many doubtfull, many prosperous successes had made eminent above all that rul'd in *Britan*. He adding to his courage Policie, and knowing himself to be of strength inferiour, in other advantages the better ; makes the Seat of his Warr among the *Ordovices*; a Country wherein all the odds were to his own Partie, all the difficulties to his Enemie. The Hills and every access he fortifi'd with heaps of Stones, & guards of men ; to come at whom a River of unsafe passage must be first waded. The place, as *Camden conjectures*, had thence the name of *Caradoc*

Tacit. vit.
Agric.

Caradoc on the West edge of Shropshire. He himself continually went up and down, animating his Officers and Leaders, that this was the day, this the field either to defend their Libertie, or to die free; calling to mind the names of his glorious Ancestors, who drove *Cesar* the Dictator out of *Britan*, whose valour hitherto had preserv'd them from bondage, thir Wives and Children from dishonour. Inflam'd with these words, they all vow thir utmost, with such undaunted resolution as amaz'd the *Roman General*; but the Souldier less waighing, because less knowing, clamourd to be led on against any danger. *Ostorius* after wary circumspectiōn bidds them pass the River: the *Britans* no sooner had them within reach of thir Arrows, Darts, and Stones, but flew and wounded largely of the *Romans*. They on the other side closing thir ranks, and over head closing thir Targetts, threw down the loose rampires of the *Britans*, and persue them up the Hills both light arm'd and Legions; till what with gauling Darts and heavie strokes, the *Britans* who wore neither Helmet nor Cuirass to defend them, were at last overcome. This the *Romans* thought a famous Victorie; wherin the Wife and Daughter of *Caractacus* were tak'n, his Brothers also reduc'd to obedience; himself escaping to *Cartismandua Queen of the Brigantes*, against faith giv'n was to the Victors deliverd bound: having held out against the *Romans* nine years, saith *Tacitus*, but by truer computation, seaven. Wherby his name was up through all the adjoyning Provinces, eev'n

to Italy and Rome : many desiring to see who he was, that could withstand so many years the Roman Puissance : and Cæsar to extoll his own Victorie, extoll'd the man whom he had vanquish'd. Beeing brought to Rome, the people as to a Solemn spectacle were call'd together, the Emperors Guard stood in Armes. In order came first the Kings Servants, bearing his Trophies won in other Warrs, next, his Brothers, Wife, and Daughter, last himself. The behaviour of others through fear was low and degenerate : he only neither in countenance, word, or action, submissive, standing at the Tribunal of Claudius, breifly spake to this purpose. *If my mind, Cæsar, had bin as moderate in the highth of Fortune, as my Birth and Dignitie was eminent, I might have come a freind rather than a captive into this Cittie. Nor couldst thou have dislik'd him for a Confederate, so Noble of Descent, and Ruling so many Nations. My present estate to me disgracefull, to thee is glorious. I had Riches, Horses, Armes, and Men ; no wonder then if I contended, not to losethem. But if by Fate, yours only must be Empire, then of necessitie ours among the rest must be subjection. If I sooner had bin brought to yeild, my Misfortune had bin less notorious, your Conquest had bin less renown'd, and in your severest determining of me, both will be soon forgott'n. But if you grant that I shall live, by me will live to you for ever that praise which is so neer divine, the clemency of a Conquerour.* Cæsar mov'd at such a spectacle of Fortune, but especially at the noblenes of his bearing it, gave him pardon, and to all the rest,

rest. They all unbound, submissely thank him, and did like reverence to *Agrippina* the Emperors Wife, who sat by in State : a new and disdained sight to the manly eyes of *Romans*, a Woman sitting public in her Female pride among Ensignes and Armed Cohorts. To *Ostorius* Tryumph is decreed; and his Actsestemed equall to theirs, that brought in Bonds to *Rome* famousest Kings. But the same prosperitie attended not his later Actions heer. For the *Silures*, whether to reveng thir loss of *Caractacus*, or that they saw *Ostorius*, as if now all were done, less earnest to restrain them, besett the Prefect of his Camp, left there with Legionarie Bands to appoint Garrisons : and had not speedie aid com in from the neighbouring Holds and Castles, had cutt them all off; notwithstanding which, the *Praefect* with eight *Centurions*, and many thir stoubtest men were flaine: and upon the neck of this, meeting first with *Roman* Forragers, then with other Troops hasting to thir releif, utterly foyl'd and broke them also. *Ostorius* sending more after, could hardly stay thir flight; till the waughty Legions coming on, at first poys'd the Battel, at length turn'd the Scale; to the *Britans* without much loss; for by that time it grew night. Then was the Warr shived as it were into small frayes and bickerings; not unlike sometimes to so many robberies, in Woods, at Waters, as chance or valour, advice or rashnes led them on, commanded or without command. That which most exasperated the *Silures*, was a report of

certain words cast out by the *Emperor*, That he would root them out to the verie name. Therfore two Cohots more of Auxiliars, by the avarice of thir Leaders too securly pillageing, they quite intercepted : and bestowing liberally the Spoils and Captives, wherof they took plentie ; drew other Countries to joyne with them. These losses falling so thick upon the *Romans*, *Ostorius* with the thought, and anguish therof ended his daies ; the *Britans* rejoicing, although no Battel, that yet adverse Warr had worne out so great a Souldier. *Cesar* in his place ordains *Aulus Didius* ; but ere his coming, though much hastn'd, that the Province might not want a Gouvernour ; the *Silures* had giv'n an overthrow to *Manlius Valens* with his Legion, rumor'd on both sides greater than was true ; by the *Silures* to amate the new General ; by him in a double respect, of the more praise if he queld them, or the more excuse if he fail'd. Mean time the *Silures* forgett not to infest the *Roman* pale with wide excursions ; till *Didius* marching out, kept them somewhat more within bounds. Nor were they long to seek, who after *Caractacus* should lead them ; for next to him in worth and skill of Warr, *Venutius a Prince of the Brigantes* merited to be thir chief. He at first faithfull to the *Romans*, and by them protected, was the Husband of *Cartismandua Q. of the Brigantes*, himself perhaps reigning elsewhere. She who had betray'd *Caractacus* and her Countrie to adorn the Tryumph of *Claudius*, thereby grown powerfull and gratiouſ with the *Romans*, presuming

ming on the hire of her treason, deserted her Husband ; and marrying *Vellocatus* one of his Squires, conferrs on him the Kingdom also. This deed so odious and full of infamie, disturb'd the whole State : *Venutius* with other Forces, and the help of her own Subjects, who detested the example of so soule a fact, and with all the uncomliness of thir Subjection to the Monarchie of a Woman, a peece of man-hood not every day to be found among *Britans*, though shee had got by suttle train his Brother with many of his Kindred into her hands, brought her soon below the confidence of beeing able to resist longer. When imploring the *Roman* aid, with much adoe, and after many a hard encounter shee escap'd the punishment which was readie to have seis'd her. *Venutius* thus debar'd the autority of ruling his own Houshold, justly turnes his anger against the *Romans* themselvs ; whose magnanimitie not wont to undertake dishonourable causes, had arrogantly intermeddl'd in his domestic affaires, to uphold the Rebellion of an adul-tres against her Husband. And the Kingdom he retain'd against thir utmost opposition ; and of Warr gave them thir fill : first in a sharpe conflict of uncertain event, then against the Legion of *Cæsius Nasica*. Insomuch that *Didius* growing old and managing the Warr by Deputies, had work anough to stand on his de-fence, with the gaining now and then of a small Castle. And *Nero* (for in that part of *Tacit. vit.* the *Ile* things continu'd in the same plight to *Agric.*) the Reigne of *Vespasian*) was minded but for shame

Tacit. Hist. shame to have withdrawn the *Roman Forces* out of *Britan*: In other parts whereof, about the same time, other things befell. *Verannius*, whom *Nero* sent hither to succeed *Didius*, dying in his first Year, save a few inroads upon the *Silures*, left only a great boast behind him, *That in two years, had he liv'd, he would have Conquer'd all*. But *Suetonius Paulinus*, who next was sent hither, esteem'd a Souldier equall to the best in that age, for two years together went on prosperouly; both confirming what was got, and subduing onward. At last over-confident of his present actions, and emulating others, of whose deeds he heard from a broad, marches up as farr as *Mona, the Isle of Anglesey*, a populous place. For they it seems had both entertain'd fugitives, and giv'n good assistance to the rest that withstood him. He makes him Boates with flat bottoms, fitted to the Shallows which he expected in that narrow Frith: His Foot so pas'd over, his Horse waded or swom. Thick upon the shoar stood several gros bands of men well weapn'd, many women like furies running to and fro in dismal habit with hair loose about thir shoulders, held Torches in thir hands. The *Druuids*, those were thir Priests, of whome more in another place, with hands lift up to Heav'n uttering direfull praiers, astonish'd the *Romans*; who at so strange a sight stood in a-maze though wounded: at length awak'd and encourag'd by thir General, not to fear a barbarous and lunatic rout, fall on, and beat them down scorch't and rouling in thir own fire. Then

were

were they yoak'd with Garrisons, and the places consecrate to thir bloodie superstitions destroïd. For whom they took in Warr they held it lawfull to Sacrifice ; and by the entrails of men ns'd divination. While thus *Paulinus* had his thought still fix'd before, to goe on winning, his back lay broad op'n to occasion of losing more behind. For the *Britans* urg'd and oppress'd with many unsufferable injuries, had all banded themselvs to a general revolt. The particular causes are not all writt'n by one Author; *Tacitus* who liv'd next those times of any to us extant, writes that *Prasutagus King of the Icenians* abounding in wealth had left *Cesar* Coheir with his two Daughters; thereby hoping to have secur'd from all wrong both his Kingdome and his House; which fell out far otherwise. For under colour to oversee and take possession of the Emperours new Inheritance, his Kingdom became a prey to Centurions, his House to raving Officers, his Wife *Boadicea* violated with Stripes, his Daughters with Rape, the wealthiest of his Subjects, as it were by the Will and Testament of thir King thrown out of thir Estates, his Kindred made little better than Slaves. The new Colony also at *Camalodunum* took House or Land from whome they pleas'd, terming them Slaves and Vassals; the Souldiers complying with the Colony, out of hope hereafter to use the same licence themselvs. Moreover the Temple erected to *Claudius* as a badge of thir eternal slaverie, stood a great Eye-sore; the Priests whereof under pretext

Dion.

text of what was due to the Religious Service wasted and imbezl'd each mans substance up on themselvs. And *Catus Decianus* the Procurator endeavour'd to bring all thir goods within the compafs of a new Confiscation, by disavowing the remittment of *Claudius*. Lastly, *Seneca* in his Books a Philosopher, having drawn the *Britans* unwillingly to borrow of him vast summs upon faire promises of easy loan, and for repayment to take their own time, on a sudden compells them to pay in all at once with great extortion. Thus provok't by heaviest sufferings, and thus invited by opportunities in the absence of *Paulinus*, the *Iceni*ans, and by their Example the *Trinobantes*, and as many else as hated servitude, rise up in Armes. Of these ensuing troubles many foregoing signes appear'd : the image of Victorie at *Camalodunum* fell down of it self with her face turn'd as it were to the *Britans*; certaine Women in a kind of ecstasie foretold of Calamities to come ; in the Counsel-House were heard by night barbarous noisef, in the Theater hideous howlings, in the Creek horrid sights betok'ning the destruction of that Colony ; heerto the Ocean seeming of a bloody hew, and human shapes at a low ebb left imprinted on the sand, wrought in the *Britans* new courage, in the *Romans* unwonted fears. *Camalodunum* where the *Romans* had seated themselvs to dwell pleasantly, rather than defensively, was not fortifi'd : against that therefore the *Britans* make first assault. The Soldiers within were not very many. *Decianus*

the

the Procurator could send them but 200, those ill arm'd : and through the treachery of some among them, who secretly favour'd the insurrection, they had deferr'd both to entrench, and to send out such as bore not Armes ; such as did, flying to the Temple, which on the second day was forcibly tak'n, were put all to the Sword, the Temple made a heap, the rest rift'd and burnt. *Petilius Cerealis* coming to his succour, is in his way met, and overthrown, his whole Legion cut to peeces ; he with his Horse hardly escaping to the *Roman Camp*. *Decianus*, whose rapine was the cause of all this, fled into *Gallia*. But *Suetonius* at these tidings not dismay'd, through the midst of his Enemies Countrie marches to *London* (though not term'd a Colony, yet full of *Roman* Inhabitants, and for the frequency of trade and other commodities, a Town eev'n then of principal note) with purpose to have made there the seat of Warr. But considering the smallness of his numbers, and the late rashnes of *Petilius*, he chooses rather with the los's of one Town to save the rest. Nor was he flexible to any prayers or weeping of them that besought him to tarry there ; but taking with him such as were willing, gave signal to depart ; they who through weakness of Sex or Age, or love of the place went not along, perish'd by the E-nemie ; so did *Verulam a Roman free Town*. For the *Britans* omitting Forts and Castles, flew thether first where richest bootie , and the hope of pillageing toald them on. In this mas-sacre, about 70 thousand *Romans* and thir asso-ciats

ciats in the places above-mention'd, of a certaine, lost thir lives. None might be spar'd, none ransom'd, but tasted all either a present or a linging Death; no crueltie that either outrage, or the insolence of success putt into thir heads, was left unacted.

Dion.L.62. Wives and Virgins hang'd up all naked, had thir Breasts cut off, and sow'd to thir mouths, that in the grimness of Death they might seem to eat thir own flesh; while the *Britans* fell to feasting and carousing in the Temple of *An-dæte* thir Goddess of Victorie. *Suetonius* addyng to his Legion other old Officers, and Soldiers therabout, which gatherd to him, were neer upon ten thousand; and purposing with those not to defer Battel, had chos'n a place narrow, and not to be overwing'd, on his rear a Wood; being well inform'd that his Enemies were all in Front on a plain unapt for ambush: the Legionaries stood thick in order, impal'd with light armed; the Horse on either Wing. The *Britans* in Companies and Squadrons were every where shouting and swarming, such a multitude as at other time never; no less reckon'd than 200 and 30 thousand, so fierce and confident of Victorie, that thir Wives also came in Waggons to sit and behold the sport, as they made full account, of killing *Romans*: a folly doubtless for the serious *Romans* to smile at, as a sure tok'n of prospering that day: a Woeman also was thir Commander in Chief. For *Boadicea* and her Daughters ride about in a Chariot, telling the tall Champions as a great encouragement, that

that with the *Britans* it was usual for Woemen to be thir Leaders. A deal of other fondness they put into her mouth, not worth recital; how she was lash'd, how her Daughters were handl'd, things worthier silence, retirement, and a Vail, than for a Woeman to repeat, as don to hir own person, or to hear repeated before an host of men. *The Greek Historian Dion.* sets her in the field on a high heap of Turves, in a loose-bodied Gown declaiming, a Spear in her hand, a Hare in her bosome, which after a long circumlocution she was to let slip among them for lucks sake, then praying to *Andate the British Goddess*, to talk again as fondly as before. And this they do out of a vanity, hoping to embellish and set out thir Historie with the strangeness of our maners, not careing in the mean while to brand us with the rankest note of Barbarism, as if in *Britain* Woemen were Men, and Men Woemen. I affect not set speeches in a Historie, unless known for certain to have bin so spok'n in effect as they are writ'n, nor then, unless worth rehearsal; and to invent such, though eloquently, as som Historians have done, is an abuse of posteritie, raising, in them that read, other conceptions of those times and persons than were true. Much leſs therfore do I purpose heer or elsewhere to Copie out tedious Orations without decorum, though in thir Authors compos'd ready to my hand. Hitherto what we have heard of *Cassibelan*, *Togadumnus*, *Venusius*, and *Caractacus* hath bin full of magnanimitie, soberness, and martial skill: but

but the truth is, that in this Battel, and whole business, the *Britans* never more plainly manifested themselves to be right *Barbarians*; no rule, no foresight, no forecast, experience or estimation, either of themselves or of thir Enemies; such confusion, such impotence, as seem'd likest not to a Warr, but to the wild hurrey of a distracted Woeman, with as mad a Crew at her heeles. Therfore *Suetonius* contemning thir unruly noises, and fierce looks, heart'ns his men but to stand close a while, and strike manfully this headless rabble that stood nearest, the rest would be a purchase, rather than a toil. And so it fell out; for the Legion, when they saw thir time, bursting out like a violent wedge, quickly broke and dissipated what oppos'd them; all else held only out thir necks to the slayer, for thir own Carts and Waggons were so plac'd by themselvs, as left them but little room to escape between. The *Roman* flew all; Men, Woemen, and the very drawing Horses lay heap'd along the field in a gory mixture of slaughter. About four-score thousand *Britans* are said to have bin slain on the place; of the Enemy scarce 400 and not many more wounded. *Boadicea* poyson'd her self, or, as others say, sick'n'd and dy'd. She was of Stature big and tall, of vi-sage grim and stern, harsh of voice, her hair of bright colour flowing down to her hipps; she wore a plighted Garment of divers colours, with a great gold'n Chain; button'd over all a thick robe. *Gildas* calls her the craf-te Liones, and leaves an ill fame upon her doings.

doings. *Dion* sets down otherwise the order of this fight, and that the field was not won without much difficultie, nor without intention of the *Britans* to give another Battel, had not the Death of *Boadicea* come betweene. Howbeit *Suetonius* to preserve Discipline, and to dispatch the reliques of Warr, lodg'd with all his Armie in the op'n field; which was supply'd out of *Germany* with 1000 Horse, and 10000 Foot; thence dispers'd to Winter, and with Incursions to wast those Countries that stood out. But to the *Britans* Famine was a worse affliction; having left off during this uproar, to Till the ground, and made reck'ning to serve themselves on the Provisions of thir Enemie. Nevertheless those Nations that were yet untaim'd, hearing of some discord ris'n between *Suetonius*, and the new Procurator *Classicianus*, were brought but slowly to terms of peace; and the rigor us'd by *Suetonius* on them that yeilded, taught them the better course to stand on thir defence. For it is *Tacit. vit.* certaine, that *Suetonius*, though else a worthie *Agric.* man, over-proud of his Victorie, gave too much way to his anger against the *Britans*. *Classician* therfore fending such word to *Rome*, that these severe proceedings would beget an endles Warr, *Polycletus*, no *Roman* but a Courtier, was sent by *Nero* to examin how things went. He admonishing *Suetonius* to use more mildnes, aw'd the Armie, and to the *Britans* gave matter of Laughter. Who so much eeven till then were nurs'd up in thir Native Liber-tie, as to wonder that so great a General with

his whole Armie should be at the rebuke and ordering of a Court Servitor. But *Suetonius*^a while after having lost a few Gallies on the shoar, was bid resigne his command to *Petronius Turpilianus*, who not provoking the *Britans*, nor by them provok'd, was thought to have pretended the love of peace to what indeed was his love of ease and sloth. *Trebellius Maximus* follow'd his steps, usurping the name of gentle Government to any remisnes or neglect of Discipline; which brought in first licence, next disobedience into his Camp; incens'd against him partly for his covetousnes, partly by the incitement of *Roscius Calius* Legat of a Legion; with whom formerly disagreeing, now that Civil Warr began in the

Tacit. Hist. Empire, he fell to op'n discord; charging him
8.1. & vit. with disorder, and sedition, and him *Calius*

Agrič.

with peeling and defrauding the Legions of thir pay; insomuch that *Trebellius* hated, and deserted of the Souldiers, was content a while to govern by a base entreaty, and forc'd at length to flie the Land. Which notwithstanding remain'd in good quiet, govern'd by *Calius* and the other Legat of a Legion, both faithful

69. to *Vitellius* then Emperour; who sent hither

Tacit. Hist. *Vestinus Bolanus*; under whose lenity, though
2. & vit. not tainted with other fault, against the *Britans* nothing was done, nor in thir own Discipline reform'd.

Agrič.

70. *Petilius Cerealis* by appointment of *Vespasian* succeeding, had to doe with the populous *Brigantes* in many Battails, and som of those, not unbloode. For as we heard before, it was *Venusius* who eeven to these times

74.
Calvus.

times held them tack, both himself remaining *Tacit. Hist.*
to the end unvanquish'd, and som part of his 3. & vii.
Country not so much as reach't. It appeares *Agric.*
also by several passages in the Histories of *Ta-
citus*, that no small number of *British Forces*
were commanded over Sea the year before to
serve in those bloodie Warrs betweene *Otho*
and *Vitellius*, *Vitellius* and *Vespasian* contending
for the Empire. To *Cerealis* succeeded *Julius
Frontinus* in the Government of *Britan*, who
by tameing the *Silures*, a people warlike and
strongly inhabiting, augmented much his re-
putation. But *Julius Agricola*, whom *Vespasi-
an* in his last year sent hither, train'd up from
his youth in the *British Wars*, extended with
Victories the *Roman Limit* beyond all his Pre-
decessors. His coming was in the midst of
Summer ; and the *Ordovices* to welcome the
new General, had hew'n in peeces a whole
Squadron of Horse, which lay upon thir
bounds, few escaping. *Agricola*, who perceav'd
that the noise of this defeat had also in the
Province desirous of novelty, stirr'd up new
expectations, resolves to be before-hand with
the danger : and drawing together the choice
of his Legions with a competent number of
Auxiliars, not beeing met by the *Ordovices*,
who kept the Hills, himself in the head of his
men hunts them up and down through diffi-
cult places, almost to the final extirpating of
that whole Nation. With the same current
of success, what *Paulinus* had left unfinish'd he
Conquers in the *Ile of Mona* : for the Ilanders
altogether fearless of his approach, whom

they knew to have no Shipping, when they saw themselfvs invaded on a sudden by the Auxiliars, whose Countrie use had taught them to swimm over with Horse and Armes, were compel'd to yeild. This gain'd *Agricola* much opinion; who at his very entrance, a time which others bestow'd of course in hearing complements and gratulations, had made such early progress into laborious and hardest enterprises. But by farr not so famous was *Agricola* in bringing Warr to a speedie end, as in cutting off the causes from whence Warr arises. For he knowing that the end of Warr was not to make way for Injuries in Peace, began Reformation from his own House; permitted not his Attendants and Followers to sway, or have to doe at all in Public Affairs: laies on with equalitie the proportions of Corn and Tribute that were impos'd; takes off exactions, and the Fees of encroaching Officers, heavier than the tribute it self. For the Countries had bin compell'd before, to sitt and wait the op'ning of public Granaries, and both to sell and to buy thir Corn at what rate the Publicans thought fitt; the Pourveyers also commanding when they pleas'd to bring it in, not to the nearest, but still to the remotest places, either by the compounding of such as would be excus'd, or by causing a Dearth, where none was, made a particular gain. These greevances and the like, he in the time of peace removing, brought peace into som credit; which before, since the *Romans* coming, had as ill a name as Warr. The Summer following,

lowing, *Titus then Emperor*, he so continually with inroads disquieted the Enemie over all the Ile, and after terror so allur'd them with his gentle demeanour, that many Citties which till that time would not bend, gave Hostages, admitted Garrisons, and came in voluntarily. The Winter he spent all in worthie actions; teaching and promoting like a public Father the Institutes and Customes of civil Life. The Inhabitants rude and scatter'd, and by that the proner to Warr, he so perswaded as to build Houses, Temples, and Seats of Justice; and by praising the forward, quick'ning the slow, assisting all, turn'd the name of necessitie into an emulation. He caus'd moreover the Noblemens Sons to be bred up in Liberal Arts; and by preferring the Witts of *Britan*, before the Studies of *Gallia*, brought them to affect the Latine Eloquence, who before hated the Language. Then were the *Roman* fashions imitated, and the Gown; after a while the incitements also and materials of Vice, and voluptuous life, proud Buildings, Baths, and the elegance of Banqueting; which the foolisher sort call'd Civilitie, but was indeed a secret Art to prepare them for bondage. Spring appearing, he took the Field, and with a prosperous expedition wasted as farr Northward as the Frith of *Taus* all that obey'd not; with such a terror, as he went, that the *Roman* Armie, though much hinder'd by tempestuous weather, had the leasure to build Forts and Castles where they pleas'd, none daring to oppose them. Besides, *Agricola* had this excell-

81.

lence in him, so providently to choose his places where to fortifie, as not another General then alive. No Sconce, or Fortress of his raising was ever known either to have bin forc'd, or yeilded up, or quitted. Out of these impregnable by seige, or in that case duely relieved, with continual irruptions he so prevail'd, that the Enemie, whose manner was in Winter to regain, what in Summer he had lost, was now alike in both seasons kept short, and streit'n'd. For these exploits then e-

Dion. L.65. steem'd so great, and honourable, *Titus* in whose Reign they were atcheev'd, was the fifteenth time saluted Imperator; and of him *Agricola* receav'd triumphal honours. The

82. fourth Summer, *Domitian* then ruleing the Empire, he spent in settling and confirming what the year before he had travail'd over with a running Conquest. And had the valour of his Souldiers bin answerable, he had reach'd that year, as was thought, the utmost bounds of *Britan*. For *Glota*, and *Bodotria*, now *Dunbritton*, and the Frith of *Edinburrow*; two opposite Armes of the Sea, divided only by a neck of Land, and all the Creeks and Inlets on this side, were held by the *Romans*, and the Enemie driv'n as it were into another Island. In his fist year he pass'd over into the *Orcades*, as we may probably guesf, and other Scotch Iles; discovering and subdueing Nations till then unknown. He gain'd also with his Forces that part of *Britan* which faces *Ireland*, as aiming also to conquer that Island; where one of the Irish Kings driy'n out by Ci-

vil Warrs, coming to him, he both gladly receav'd, and retain'd him as against a fitt time. The Summer ensuing, on mistrust that the Nations beyond *Bodotria* would generally rise, and forelay the passages by Land, he caus'd his Fleet, making a great shew, to bear along the Coast, and up the Friths and Harbours; joyning most commonly at night on the same shoar both Land and Sea Forces, with mutual shouts and loud greetings. At sight whereof the *Britans*, not wont to see thir Sea so ridd'n, were much daunted. Howbeit the *Caledonians* with great preparation, and by rumor, as of things unknown much greater, taking Armes, and of thir own accord begining Warr by the assault of sundry Castles, sent back some of thir fear to the *Romans* themselves: and there were of the Commanders, who cloaking thir fear under shew of sage advice, counseil'd the General to retreat back on this side *Bodotria*. He in the mean while having intelligence, that the Enemie would fall on in many Bodies, diuided also his Armie into three parts. Which advantage the *Britans* quickly spying, and on a sudden uniting what before they had disjoyn'd, assaile by night with all thir Forces that part of the *Roman* Armie, which they knew to be the weakest; and breaking in upon the Camp surpris'd between sleep and fear, had begun some Execution. When *Agricola*, who had learnt what way the Enemies took, and follow'd them with all speed, sending before him the lightest of his Horse and Foot to charge them behind, the rest as they came on

Dion. L. 66.

B. 5.

to affright them with clamour, so ply'd them without respite, that by approach of day the *Roman* Ensigns glittering all about, had encompas'd the *Britans*: who now after a sharp fight in the very Ports of the Camp, betook them to thir wonted refuge, the Woods and Fens, poursu'd a while by the *Romans*, that day else in all appearance had ended the Warr. The Legions reincourag'd by this event, they also now boasting, who but lately trembl'd, cry all to be led on as farr as there was *British* ground. The *Britans* also not acknowledging the loss of that day to *Roman* Valour, but to the policy of thir Captain, abated nothing of thir stoutness; but arming thir Youth, conveying thir Wives and Children to places of safty, in frequent Assemblies, and by Solemn Covenants bound themselves to mutual assistance against the Common Enemy. About the same time a Cohort of *Germans* having slain thir Centurion with other *Roman* Officers in a mutiny, and for fear of punishment fled a Shipboard, launch'd forth in three light Gallies without Pilot: and by tije or weather carried round about the Coast, using Piracy where they landed, while thir Ships held out, and as thir skill serv'd them, with various fortune, were the first discoverers to the *Romans* that *Britan* was an Iland. The following Summer, *Agricola* having before sent his Navie to hover on the Coast, and with fundrie and uncertaine landings to divert and disunite the *Britans*, himself with a power best appointed for expedition, wherin also were many *Britans*,

tans, whom he had long try'd both valiant and faithful, marches onward to the Mountaine *Grampius*, where the *British*, above 30000, were now lodg'd, and still encreasing : for neither would thir old men, so many as were yet vigorous and lusty, be left at home, long practis'd in Warr, and every one adorn'd with some badge, or cognisance of his warlike deeds long agoe. Of whom *Galgacus*, both by birth and merit the prime Leader, to thir courage, though of it self hot and violent, is by his rough Oratory, in detestation of servitude and the *Roman* yoke, said to have added much more eagerness of fight ; testifi'd by thir shouts and barbarous applauses. As much did on the others side *Agricola* exhort his Souldiers to Vistorie and Glorie ; as much the Souldiers by his firm and well grounded Exhortations were all on a fire to the onset. But first he orders them in this sort. Of 8000 Auxiliar Foot he makes his middle ward, on the wings 3000 Horse, the Legions as a reserve, stood in array before the Camp ; either to seise the Vistorie won without thir own hazard, or to keep up the Battaile if it should need. The *British* Powers on the hill side, as might best serve for shew and terrour, stood in thir Battalions ; the first on eeven ground, the next rising behind, as the hill ascended. The field between rung with the noise of Horsemen and Chariots ranging up and down. *Agricola* doubting to be over wing'd, stretches out his Front, though somwhat with the thinnest, insomuch that many advis'd to bring up the Legions : yet he not altering,

altering, alights from his Horse, and stands on foot before the Ensignes. The fight began a-loof, and the *Britans* had a certain skill with thir broad swashing Swords and short Bucklers either to strike aside, or to bear off the Darts of their Enemies; and withall to fend back showers of thir own. Until *Agricola* discerning that those little Targets and unwieldie Glaves ill pointed, would soon become ridiculous against the thrust and close, commanded three *Batavian* Cohorts, and two of the *Tungrians* exercis'd and arm'd for close fight, to draw up, and come to handy strokes. The *Batavians*, as they were commanded, running in upon them, now with thir long Tucks thrusting at the face, now with thir piked Targets bearing them down, had made good riddance of them that stood below; and for hast omitting furder Execution, began apace to advance uphill, seconded now by all the other Cohorts. Mean while the Horse-men fly, the Charioters mixe themselves to fight among the Foot; where many of thir Horse also fall'n in disorderly, were now more a mischief to thir own, than before a terrour to thir Enemies. The Battaile was a confus'd heap; the ground unequal; Men, Horses, Chariots crowded pell-mell; somtimes in little room, by and by in large, fighting, rushing, felling, over-bearing, over-turning. They on the Hill, which were not yet come to blows, perceaving the fewness of thir Enemies, came down amain; and had enclos'd the *Romans* unawares behind, but that *Agricola* with a strong Body of Horse, which he reserv'd

reserv'd for such a purpose, repell'd them back as fast : and others drawn off the front, were commanded to wheel about and charge them on the backs. Then were the *Romans* clearly Maisters ; they follow, they wound, they take, and to take more, kill whom they take : the *Britans* in whole Troops with weapons in thir hands, one while flying the pursuer, anon without weapons desperately running upon the slayer. But all of them, when once they got the Woods to thir shelter, with fresh boldnes made head again , and the forwardest on a sudden they turn'd and flew, the rest so hamper'd, as had not *Agricola*, who was every where at hand, sent out his readiest Cohorts, wjth part of his Horse to alight and scowr the Woods, they had receiv'd a foyle in the midst of Victorie ; but following with a close and orderly poursuit, the *Britans* fled again, and were totally scatter'd ; till night and weariness ended the chase. And of them that day 10000 fell ; of the *Romans* 340, among whom *Aulus Atticus* the Leader of a Cohort ; carried with heat of youth and the fircenes of his Horse too farr on. The *Romans* jocond of this Victorie, and the spoile they got, spent the night ; the vanquished wandring about the field, both Men and Women, som lamenting, som calling thir lost friends , or carrying off thir wounded ; others forsaking, som burning thir own Houses ; and it was certain anough, that there were who with a stern compassion laid violent hands on thir Wives and Children to prevent the more violent hands of hostile injurie.

injurie. Next day appearing manifested more plainly the greatness of thir loss receav'd ; every where silence, desolation, houses burning afar off, not a man seen, all fled, and doubtful whither : such word the Scouts bringing in from all parts, and the Summer now spent, no fit season to disperse a Warr, the *Roman General* leads his Armie among the *Horestians* ; by whom Hostages being giv'n, he commands his *Admiral* with a sufficient Navie to saile round the Coast of *Britan* : himself with flow marches, that his delay in passing might serve to awe those new conquer'd Nations, bestows his Armie in thir Winter-quarters. The Fleet also having fetch't a prosperous and speedy compass about the Ile, put in at the Haven *Trutulensis*, now *Richborow* neer *Sandwich*, from whence it first set out : and now likeliest, if not two years before, as was mention'd, the *Romans* might discover and subdue the Iles of

Orkney ; which others with less reason following *Eusebius* and *Orosius*, attribute to the deeds of *Claudius*. These perpetual exploits abroad won him wide fame ; with *Domitian*, under whom great virtue was as punishable as op'n

Dion. L. 66. crime, won him hatred. For he maligning the renown of these his acts, in shew decreed him honours, in secret devis'd his ruin. *Agricola* therefore commanded home for doeing too much, of what he was sent to doe, left the Province to his Successor quiet and secure. Whether he, as is conjectured, were *Salustius Lu-*
cullus, or before him som other, for *Suetonius* only names him *Legat* of *Britan* under *Domi-*
tian ;

Camden.
Juvenal,
Sat. 2.

Eutrop. L. 7.

Dion. L. 66.

86.

tian; but furder of him, or ought else done here until the time of *Hadrian*, is no where plainly to be found. Some gather by a Preface in *Tacitus* to the Book of his Histories, that what *Agricola* won here, was soon after by *Domitian* either through want of valour lost, or through envy neglected. And *Juvenal* the Poet speaks of *Arviragus* in these days, and not before, King of *Britan*: who stood so well in his resistance, as not only to be talk'd of at *Rome*, but to be held matter of a glorious Triumph, if *Domitian* could take him Captive, or overcome him. Then also *Claudia Rufina* the Daughter of a *Britan*, and Wife of *Pudence* a Roman Senator, liv'd at *Rome*; famous by the Verse of *Martial* for beauty, wit, and learning. The next we hear of *Britan*, is that when *Trajan* was Emperor, it revolted, and was subdued. Under *Adrian*, *Julius Severus*, faith *Spartianus* ^{in vit. Hadrian.} *Dion*, govern'd the Iland, a prime Souldier of that Age, but he being call'd away to suppress the Jews then in tumult, left things at such pafs, as caus'd the Emperor in person to take a journey hither; where many things he reform'd, and, as *Augustus* and *Tiberius* coun-
Spartianus ^{ibid.} sel'd to gird the Empire within moderate bounds; he rais'd a Wall with great stakes driv'n in deep, and fastn'd together, in manner of a strong mound, 80 mile in length, to divide what was *Roman* from *Barbarian*: no antient Author names the place, but old inscriptions, and ruin it self yet testifies where it went along between *Solway Frith* by *Carlile*, and the mouth of *Tine*. *Hadrian* having quiet-
ed

122.

Camden.

ed the Iland, took it for honour to be titl'd on his Coine, the Restorer of *Britan*. In his time also *Priscus Licinius*, as appears by an old inscription, was Lieutenant heer. *Antoninus*

*Pausan. ar-
chad.*

Pius reigning, the *Brigantes* ever least patient of Foren servitude, breaking in upon *Genonia* (which *Camden* guesses to be *Guinethia* or *North-Wales*) part of the *Roman Province*, were with the loss of much territory driv'n back by

*Capitolin.**vit. Anton.*

Lollius Urbicus, who drew another Wall o-

*144. Capitolin.**Marc. Ant.**Philos.*

Turves; in likelihood much beyond the former, and as *Camden* proves, between the Frits

Dunbritton,

and of *Edinborrow*; to hedge out incursions from the North. And *Seius Sa-*

turninus.

turinus, as is collected from the digests, had

162. Digest. L.

charge heer of the *Roman Navie*. With like

36.

succes did *Marcus Aurelius* next Emperor by

his Legate Calphurnius Agricola

finish heer a new Warr: *Commodus* after him obteining the

Empire.

In his time, as among so many different accounts may seem most probable, *Lu-*

cious

a suppos'd King in some part of *Britan*, the

Beda.

first of any King in *Europe*, that we read of

receav'd the Christian Faith, and this Nation

the first by publick Authority profes'd it: a

high and singular Grace from above, if since

ritie and perseveriance went along, otherwile

an empty boast, and to be fear'd the verifying

of that true sentence, *the first shall be last*. And

indeed the praise of this action is more pro-

per to King *Lucius* than common to the Na-

tion; whose first professing by publick Autho-

rity was no real commendation of thir true

faith; which had appear'd more sincere and

praise

praise-worthy, whether in this or other Nation, first profes'd without publick Authority or against it, might else have bin but outward conformity. *Lucius* in our *Monmouth Storie* is made the second by descent from *Marius*. *Marius* the Son of *Arviragus* is there said to have overthrown the *Picts* then first coming out of *Scythia*, slain *Roderic* thir King; and in sign of Victorie to have set up a Monument of Stone in the Country since call'd *Westmaria*; but these things have no foundation. *Coilus* the Son of *Marius*, all his reign, which was just and peaceable, holding great amity with the *Romans*, left it hereditary to *Lucius*. He (if *Beda* err not, living neer 500 years after, yet our antientest Author of this report) sent to *Eleutherius* then Bishop of *Rome*, an improbable Letter, as some of the Contents discover, desiring that by his appointment he and his people might receave Christianitie. From whom two Religious Doctors, nam'd in our Chronicles *Faganus* and *Deruvianus*, forthwith sent, are said to have converted and baptiz'd well nigh the whole Nation: thence *Lucius* to have had the surname of *Levermaur*, that is to say, great light. Nor yet then first was the Christian Faith heer known, but eev'n from the latter daies of *Tiberius*, as *Gildas* confidently affirms, taught and propagated, and that as som say by *Simon Zelotes*, as others by *Joseph of Arimathea*, *Barnabas*, *Paul*, *Peter*, and thir prime Disciples. But of these matters, variously written and believ'd, Ecclesiastic Historians can best determin: as the best of them do, with little

181.

Nennius.

*Geff. Mon.**Dion. L. 72.*

183.

*Limprid. in
comm.*

186.

little credit giv'n to the particulars of such uncertain relations. As for *Lucius*, they write, that after a long reigne he was buried at *Glastonbury*; but dying without issue left the Kingdom in great commotion. By truer testimony we find that the greatest Warr which in those days busy'd *Commodus*, was in this Iland. For the Nations Northward, notwithstanding the Wall rais'd to keep them out, breaking in upon the *Roman Province*, wasted wide; and both the Army and the Leader that came against them wholly routed, and destroy'd, which put the Emperor in such a fear, as to dispatch hither one of his best Commanders, *Ulpian Marcellus*. He a man endu'd with all nobleness of mind, frugal, temperate, mild, and magnanimous, in Warr bold and watchfull, invincible against lucre, and the assault of bribes, what with his valour, and these his other virtues, quickly ended this Warr that look'd so dangerous, and had himself like to have been ended by the peace which he brought home, for presuming to be so worthy and so good under the envy of so worthless and so bad an Emperor. After whose departure the *Roman Legions* fell to sedition among themselvs; 1500 of them went to *Rome* in name of the rest, and were so terrible to *Commodus* himself, as that to please them he put to death *Perennis* the Captain of his Guard. Notwithstanding which compliance they endeavour'd heer to set up another Emperor against him; and *Helvius Pertinax* who succeeded Governor, found it a work so difficult to ap-

pease

pease them, that once in a mutiny he was left
for dead among many slain ; and was fain at *capitolin.*
length to seek a dismission from his charge. *in Pert.*

After him *Clodius Albinus* took the Govern-
ment ; but he, for having to the Souldiers
made an Oration against Monarchie, by the
appointment of *Commodus* was bid resign to
Junius Severus. But *Albinus* in those trouble-
some times ensuing under the short reign of *193.*
Dion.

Pertinax and *Didius Julianus*, found means to
keep in his hands the Government of *Britan* ; *Did. Jul.*
although *Septimius Severus* who next held the *Spartian.*
Empire, sent hither *Heraclitus* to displace him ; *in Sever.*
but in vain, for *Albinus* with all the *British*
Powers and those of *Gallia* met *Severus* about
Lyons in France, and fought a bloody Battail
with him for the Empire, though at last van-
quish'd and slain. The Government of *Bri- *Herod. L. 3.**
tan, Severus divided between two Deputies ; *Digest. L.*
till then one Legat was thought sufficient ; the *28. tit. 6.*
North he committed to *Virius Lupus*. Where
the *Meat & rising in Arms*, and the *Caledonians*, *Dion.*
though they had promis'd the contrary to *Lupus*, preparing to defend them, so hard beset,
he was compell'd to buy his Peace, and a few
of Pris'ners with great Summs of money. But
hearing that *Severus* had now brought to an *Herod. L. 3.*
end his other Warrs, he writes him plainly
the state of things heer, that the *Britans* of
the North made Warr upon him, broke into
the Province, and harrafs'd all the Countries
nigh them, that there needed suddenly either
more aid , or himself in persoit. *Severus*
though now much weak'nd with Age and the
Gout,

Gout, yet desirous to leav som memorial of his warlike acheevements heer, as he had don in other places, and besides to withdraw by this means his two Sons from the pleasures of *Rome*, and his Souldiers from idlenes, with a Mighty Power far sooner than could be expected, arrives in *Britan*. The Northern People much daunted with the report of so great Forces brought over with him, and yet more preparing, send Embassadors to treat of Peace, and to excuse thir former doings. The Emperor now loth to returne home without some memorable thing don, whereby he might assume to his other Titles the addition of *Britanicus*, delays his answer, and quick'ns his preparations; till in the end, when all things were in readiness to follow them, they are dismisst without effect. His principal care was to have many Bridges laid over Bogs and rotten Moars, that his Souldiers might have to fight on sure footing. For it seems through lack of tillage, the Northern parts were then, as *Ireland* is at this day; and the Inhabitants in like manner wonted to retire, and defend themselvs in such watrie places half naked. He also being past *Adrians* wall, cut down Woods, made way through Hills, fast'nd and fill'd up unsound and plashy Fens. Notwithstanding all this industrie us'd, the Enemie kept himself so cunningly within his best advantages, and seldom appearing, so opportunely found his times to make irruption up on the *Romans*, when they were most in straits and difficulties, somtimes training them on

208.

209.

with

with a few Cattel turn'd out, and drawn within ambush cruelly handling them, that many a time enclos'd in the midst of sloughs and quagmires, they chose rather themselvs to kill such as were faint and could not shift away, than leave them there a prey to the *Caledonians*. Thus lost *Severus*, and by sickness in those noisome places, no less than 50000 men: and yet desisted not, though for weaknes carried in a Litter, till he had march't through with his Armie to the utmost Northern verge of the Ile: and the *Britans* offring Peace were compell'd to lose much of thir Country not before subject to the *Romans*. *Severus* on the Frontiers of what he had firmly conquer'd builds a Wall croſs the Iland from Sea to Sea; which one Author judges the most magnificent of all his other deeds; and that he thence receav'd the ſtyle of *Britannicus*; in length 132 Miles. *Orosius* adds it fortify'd with a deep Trench, and between certain spaces many Towers, or Battlements. The place whereof ſom will have to be in *Scotland*, the fame which *Lollius Urbicus* had wall'd before. Others affirm it only *Hadrians* work re-edifi'd; both plead Authorities and the ancient Tract yet visible: but this I leave among the studious of these Antiquities to be diſcuss't more at large. While Peace held, the Empress *Julia* meeting on a time certain *British* Ladies, and diſcourſing with the Wife of *Argentocoxus* a *Caledonian*, cast out a scoff againſt the looſeneſs of our Iland Women; whose manner then was to uſe promiscuously the company of divers men.

*Dion.*210.
*Spartianus
in Sever.**Eutropii
Pean. Oros.
l. 7.
Cassidor.
chro.
Buchanan.*

Whom straight the *British Woman* boldly thus answer'd : *Much better do we Britans fulfil the work of Nature than you Romans ; we with the best men accustom op'ly ; you with the basest commit private adulteries.* Whether she thought this answer might serve to justifie the practice of her *Countrie*, as when Vices are compar'd, the greater seems to justifie the lesse, or whether the Law and Custome wherein she was bred, had wip't out of her conscience the better dictate of Nature, and not convinc't her of the shame ; certain it is that whereas other Nations us'd a liberty not unnatural for one man to have many Wives, the *Britans* altogether as licentious, but more absurd and preposterous in thir licence, had one or many Wives in common among ten or twelve Husbands ; and those for the most part incestuously. But no sooner was *Severus* return'd into the Province, than the *Britans* take Arms again. Against whom *Severus* worn out with labours and infirmity, sends *Antoninus* his eldest Son ; expressly commanding him to spare neither Sex nor Age. But *Antoninus* who had his wicked thoughts tak'n up with the contriving of his Fathers death, a safer Enemie than a Son, did the *Britans* not much detriment. Whereat *Severus* more overcome with grief than any other maladie, ended his life at *York*. After whose decease *Antoninus Caracalla* his impious Son concluding Peace with the *Britans*, took Hostages and departed to *Rome*. The Conductor of all this Northern Warr *Scottish Writers* name *Donaldus*, he of *Monmouth* *Ful-*

Cæsar.

211.
*Spartianus
in Sever.*

genius,

genius, in the rest of his Relation nothing worth. From hence the *Roman Empire* declining apace, good Historians growing scarce, or lost, have left us little else but fragments for many years ensuing. Under *Gordian* the

242.

*Camd. Cam-
ber.*

Emperour we find by the Inscription of an Altar stone, that *Nonius Philippus* govern'd heir.

Under *Gaius* we read there was a strong and general revolt from the *Roman Legat*. Of the thirty Tyrants which not long after took upon them the style of Emperor, by many Coins found among us, *Lollianus*, *Victorinus*, *Posthumus*, the *Tetrici* and *Marius* are conjectured to have ris'n or born great sway in this Iland.

259.

*Eumen. Pa-
neg. Conſt.*

267.

Camden.

Whence *Porphyrius* a Philosopher then living, *Gildas*. said that *Britan* was a foil fruitful of Tyrants; and is noted to be the firſt Author that makes *Hieronym*. mention of the *Scottish Nation*. While *Probus* was Emperor, *Bonosus* the Son of a Rheto- rician, bred up a *Spanyard*, though by deſcent *Bonos*.

282.

Vopisc. in

a *Britan*, and a matchleſs drinker, nor much to be blamed, if, as they write, he were ſtill wiſeſt in his cups, having attained in warfare to high honours, and laſtly in his charge over the *German* ſhipping, willingly, as was thought, miſcarried, truſting on his Power with the Weſtern Armies, and join'd with *Proculus*, bore himſelf a while for Emperor; but after a long and bloodie fight at *Cullen*, vanquifh't by *Probus* he hang'd himſelf, and gave occaſion of a ready jest made on him for his muſh drinking; *Heer hangs a Tankard, not a man.* After this, *Probus* with muſh wiſdom prevented a new

Zozim. l. i.

Riſing heer in *Britan* by the ſevere Loyaltie

of *Victorinus* a Moor, at whose entreatie he had plac't heer that Goverour which rebelled. For the Emperor upbraiding him with the disloyaltie of whom he had commended, *Victorinus* undertaking to set all right again, hastes hither, and finding indeed the Governor to intend Sedition, by some contrivance not mention'd in the Storie, slew him, whose name some imagine to be *Cornelius Lelianus*. They write also that *Probus* gave leave to the *Spanyards*, *Gauls*, and *Britans* to plant Vines, and to make Wine; and having subdu'd the *Vandals*, and *Burgundians* in a great Battail, sent over many of them hither to inhabit, where they did good service to the *Romans* when any Insurrection happen'd in the Ile.

*camd.**Zozimus.*

283.
*Vopisc. in
Carin.*

284.
*Aurel. Vitt.
de Cesar.*

285.
Eutro. Oros.

After whom *Carus* Emperor going against the *Persians*, left *Carinus* one of his Sons to Goverⁿ among other Western Provinces this Iland with Imperial Authority; but him *Dioclesian* saluted Emperor by the Eastern Armies overcame and slew. About which time *Carausius* a man of low Parentage, born in *Menapia*, about the parts of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, who through all militarie degrees was made at length Admiral of the *Belgic* and *Armorick* Seas, then much infested by the *Franks* and *Saxons*, what he took from the Pirats, neither restorring to the owners, nor accounting to the Publick, but enriching himself, and yet not scowring the Seas, but conniving rather at those Sea Robbers, was grown at length too great a Delinquent to be les than an Emperor: for fear and guiltiness in those days made Emperors ofter

ofter than merit : And understanding that *Maximianus Herculius*, *Dioclesians* adopted Son, was come against him into *Gallia*, pass'd over with the Navie which he had made his own, into *Britan*, and posseſſ'd the Iland. Where he built a new Fleet after the *Roman* fashion, got into his Power the Legion that was left heer in Garrison, other Outlandish Cohorts detain'd, listed the very Merchants and Factors of *Gallia*, and with theallurement of spoile invited great numbers of other barbarous Nations to his part, and train'd them to Sea-service, wherin the *Romans* at that time were grown ſo out of ſkill, that *Carausius* with his Navie did at Sea what he listed, robbing on every Coast ; whereby *Maximian*, able to com no neerer than the ſhoar of *Boloigne*, was forc't to conclude a Peace with *Carausius*, and yeild him *Britan* ; as one fitteſt to guard the Province there againſt inroads from the North. But not long after having affum'd *Constantius Chlorus* to the dignity of *Cesar*, ſent him againſt *Carausius* ; who in the mean while had made himſelf ſtrong both within the Land and without. *Galfred of Monmouth* writes that he made the *Picts* his Confederates ; to whom lately com out of *Scyria* he gave *Albany* to dwell in : and it is obſerv'd that before his time the *Picts* are not known to have bin any where mentioned, and then firſt by *Eumenius* a Rhetorician. He repair'd and fortifi'd the Wall of *Severus* with ſeven Castles, and a round House of ſmooth ſtone on the Bank of *Carron*, which River, faſh *Ninnius*, was of his Name

*Eumen. Pa-**neg. 2.*

286.

*Victor. En-**trop.*

291.

*Buchanan.**Paneg. 2.*

Paneg. Si-
gonius.

292.

Camd. ex
Nin. Eu-
men.
Pan. 3.

so call'd ; he built also a Triumphal Arch in remembrance of some Victory there obtain'd. In France he held *Gessoriacum*, or *Boloigne*; and all the *Franks* which had by his permission feated themselvs in *Belgia*, were at his Devotion. But *Constantius* hasting into *Gallia*, besieges *Boloigne*, and with Stones and Timber obstructing the Port, keeps out all relief that could be sent in by *Carausius*. Who ere *Constantius* with the great Fleet which he had prepar'd, could arrive hither, was slain treacherously by *Alectus* one of his Friends, who long'd to step into his place ; when he seven years, and worthily, as some say, as others, tyrannically, had rul'd the Iland. So much the more did *Constantius* prosecute that opportunity, before *Alectus* could well strengthen his Affairs; and though in ill weather, putting to Sea with all urgency from several Hav'ns to spread the terror of his landing, and the doubt where to expect him, in a Mist passing the *British* Fleet unseen, that lay scouting neer the Ile of *Wight*, no sooner got a shoar, but fires his own Ships, to leave no hope of refuge but in Victory. *Alectus* also, though now much dismaid, transfers his Fortune to a Battel on the shoar ; but encountered by *Asclepiodotus* Captain of the *Praetorian* Bands, and desperately rushing on, unmindful both of ordering his men, or bringing them all to fight, save the accessories of his Treason, and his outlandish hirelings, is overthrown, and slain with little or no los to the *Romans*, but great execution on the *Franks*. His Body was found almost naked in the field,

for

for his Purple Robe he had thrown aside, lest it should descry him, unwilling to be found. The rest taking flight to *London*, and purposing with the pillage of that City to escape by Sea, are met by another part of the *Roman Armie*, whom the Mist at Sea disjoining had by chance brought thither, and with a new slaughter chas'd through all the Streets. The *Britans*, thir Wives also and Children, with great joy go out to meet *Constantius*, as one whom they acknowledge thir deliverer from bondage and insolence. All this seems by *Eumenius*, who then liv'd, and was of *Constantius* household, to have bin don in the course of one continu'd action; so also thinks *Sigonius* a learned Writer: though all others allow three years to the tyranny of *Aleictus*. In these days *Eumenius* were great store of Workmen, and excellent Builders in this Iland, whom after the alteration of things heer, the *Aeduans* in *Burgundie* entertain'd to build thir Temples and publick Edifices. *Dioclesian* having hitherto successfully us'd his valour against the Enemies of his Empire, uses now his rage in a bloodie persecution against his obedient and harmless Christian Subjects: from the feeling whereof neither was this Iland, though most remote, far anough remov'd. Among them heer who suffer'd gloriously, *Aron*, and *Julius* of *Caer leon* upon *Usk*, but chiefly *Alban* of *Verulam*, were most renown'd: The Story of whose Martyrdom soil'd, and worse martyr'd with the fabling zeal of some idle fancies, more fond of Miracles, than apprehensive of Truth, deservs *Gildas.* not

not longer digression. *Constantius* after *Diocean*, dividing the Empire with *Galerius*, had *Britan* among his other Provinces; where either preparing or returning with *Victorie* from an Expedition against the *Caledonians*, he di'd at *York*. His Son *Constantine*, who happily came Post from *Rome* to *Boloigne* just about the time, saith *Eumenius*, that his Father was setting sail his last time hither, and not long before his death, was by him on his death-bed nam'd, and after his Funeral, by the whole Army saluted Emperor. There goes a fame, and that seconded by most of our own Historians, though not those the ancientest, that *Constantine* was born in this Iland, his Mother *Helena* the Daughter of *Coilus* a British Prince, not sure the Father of King *Lucius*, whose Sister she must then be, for that would detect her too old by an hundred years to be the Mother of *Constantine*. But to salve this incoherence, another *Coilus* is feign'd to be then Earl of *Colchester*. To this therfore the *Roman* Authors give no testimony, except a passage or two in the *Panegyrics*, about the sense whereof much is argu'd: others neerest to those times clear the doubt, and write him certainly born of *Helena*, a mean Woeman at *Naisus* in *Dardania*. Howbeit, ere his departure hence he seems to have had some bickerings in the North, which by reason of more urgent affairs compos'd, he passes into *Gallia*; and after four years returns either to settle or to alter the state of things heer; until a new War against *Maxentius* call'd him back, leaving *Pacatianus* his

Author ign.
not. post
Marcellin.
Valesius.

306.

Eutrop. Eu-
men. idem
Auth. ign.
not.

Idem vit.
Auth. ignot.
Euseb.
Confl.

307.

Sigon.
311.
Camd.

his Vicegerent. He deceasing, *Constantine* his eldest Son enjoy'd for his part of the Empire, with all the Provinces that lay on this side the *Alpes*, this Iland also. But falling to Civil Warr with *Constans* his Brother, was by him slain; who with his third Brother *Constantius* coming into *Britan*, seis'd it as Victor. Against him rose *Magnentius*, one of his Chief Commanders, by som affirm'd the Son of a *Britan*, *Basilico.* he having gain'd on his side great Forces, contested with *Constantius* in many Battails for the sole Empire; but vanquish'd, in the end slew himself. Somewhat before this time *Gratianus* *camd. ex Firmico.* *Funarius*, the Father of *Valentinian*, afterwards Emperor, had Chief Command of those Armies which the *Romans* kept heer. And the *Ammian.* *Arrian* Doctrine which then divided Christendom, wrought also in this Iland no small disturbance: a Land, saith *Gildas*, greedy of every thing new, stedfast in nothing. At last *Constantius* appointed a *Synod* of more than 400 Bishops to Assemble at *Ariminum* on the Emperors charges, which the rest all refusing, three only of the *British*, poverty constreining them, accepted; though the other Bishops among them offer'd to have born thir charges: esteeming it more honourable to live on the Publick, than to be obnoxious to any private Purse. Doubtless an ingenuous mind, and far above the Presbyters of our Age; who like well to sit in Assembly on the Publick stipend, but like not the poverty that caus'd these to do so. After this *Martinus* was Deputy of the Province; who being offended with the cruelty

Ammian.
L. 20. &
in eum Va-
lesius.

340.
Libanius in
Basilico.

343.
CAMD. EX
Firmico.

350.

camden.

353.

359.

elty which *Paulus*, an Inquisitor sent from *Constantius*, exercis'd in his enquiry after those Military Officers who had conspir'd with *Magnentius*, was himself laid hold on as an accessory; at which enrag'd he runs at *Paulus* with his drawn Sword; but failing to kill him, turns it on himself. Next to whom, as may be gues'd, *Alipius* was made Deputy. In the mean time *Julian*, whom *Constantius* had made *Cesar*, having recover'd much Territory about *Rhine*, where the *German* inrodes before had

Libon. O- long insulted, to releeve those Countries al-
rat. 10. Zo- most ruin'd, causes 800 Pinaces to be built;
zim. L. 3. and with them by frequent Voyages, plenty of
Marcel. Corn to be fetch'd in from *Britan*; which
L. 18. eeven then was the usual bounty of this Soil

Amm. I. 23. to those parts, as oft as *French* and *Saxon* Pi-
rats hinderd not the transportation. While

360. *Constantius* yet Reign'd, the *Scots* and *Picts* breaking in upon the Northern Confines, *Ju-*

Amm. L. *lian*, being at *Paris*, sends over *Lupicinus*, a well
20. try'd Souldier, but a proud and covetous man; who with a Power of light arm'd *Herulians*, *Batavians*, and *Mesians*, in the midst of Win-
ter sailing from *Boloigne*, arrives at *Rutupia* seated on the opposite shoar, and comes to *London*, to consult there about the Warr; but soon after was recall'd by *Julian* then chosen Emperor. Under whom we read not of ought

happ'ning heer; only that *Palladius* one of his great Officers was hither banish'd. This year *Valentinian* being Emperor, the *Attacots*, *Picts*, and *Scots* roaving up and down, and last the *Saxons* with perpetual landings and invasions

harryed

364.
Amm. L.
26, 27.

harryed the South Coast of Britan; slew *Nectaridius* who govern'd the Sea Borders, and *Bulchobandes* with his Forces by an ambush. With which news *Valentinian* not a little perplext, sends first *Severus* high Steward of his House, and soon recalls him, then *Jovinus*, who intimating the necessity of greater supplies, he sends at length *Theodosius*, a man of try'd Valour, and Experience, Father to the first Emperor of that Name. He with selected numbers out of the Legions, and Cohorts, crosses the Sea from *Boloigne* to *Rutupiae*; from whence with the *Batavians*, *Herulians*, and other Legions that arriv'd soon after, he marches to *London*; and dividing his Forces into several Bodies, sets upon the dispers'd and plundering Enemie, lad'n with spoile; from whom recovering the booty which they led away, and were forc'd to leave there with thir lives, he restores all to the right owners, save a small portion to his wearied Souldiers, and enters *London* victoriously; which before in many straits and difficulties, was now reviv'd as with a great deliverance. The numerous Enemy with whom he had to deal, was of different Nations, and the Warr scatter'd: which *Theodosius*, getting daily som intelligence from fugitives and prisoners, resolves to carry on by sudden parties and surprisals rather than set Battails; nor omits he to proclaim Indemnity to such as would lay down Arms, and accept of Peace, which brought in many. Yet all this not ending the work, he requires that *Civilis*, a man of much uprightness, might be sent him, to

to be as Deputy of the Island, and *Dulcitus* a famous Captain. Thus was *Theodosius* busy'd, besetting with ambushes the roaving Enemy, repressing his Roads, restoring Cities and Castles to thir former safety and defence, laying every where the firm foundation of a long Peace, when *Valentius* a Pannonian for some great offence banish'd into *Britan*, conspiring with certain Exiles and Souldiers against *Theodosius*, whose worth he dreaded as the only obstacle to his greater design of gaining the Isle into his Power, is discover'd, and with his chief accomplices deliver'd over to condign punishment : against the rest, *Theodosius* with a wise lenity suffer'd not inquisition to proceed too rigorously, lest the fear thereof appertaining to so many, occasion might arise of new trouble in a time so unsetl'd. This done, he applies himself to reform things out of order, raises on the Confines many Strong Holds ; and in them appoints due and diligent watches ; and so reduc'd all things out of danger, that the Province which but lately was under command of the Enemy, became now wholly *Roman*, new nam'd *Valentia* of *Valentinian*, and the City of *London Augusta*. Thus *Theodosius* nobly acquitting himself in all Affairs, with general applause of the whole Province, accompanied to the Sea-side, returns to *Valentinian*.

Who about five years after sent hither *Fraomarius*, a King of the *Almans*, with authority of a Tribune over his own Country Forces, which then both for number and good service were in high esteem. Against *Gratian*

368.

Amm. L.

28.

Zozim. L. 4.

373.

Amm. L.

29.

who

who succeeded in the Western Empire, *Maximus a Spanyard*, and one who had serv'd in the British Wars with younger *Theodosius* (for he also, either with his Father, or not long after him, seems to have done something in this Island) and now General of the Roman Armies here, either discontented that *Theodosius* was prefer'd before him to the Empire, or constrain'd by the Soldiers who hated *Gratian*, assumes the Imperial Purple, and having attain'd Victory against the *Scots* and *Picts*, with the Flower and Strength of *Britan*, passes into *France*; there slays *Gratian*, and without much difficultie, the space of five years, obtains his part of the Empire, overthrown at length and slain by *Theodosius*. With whom perishing most of his followers, or not returning out of

Zozim. L. 4.
Sigan.

Prosp. A-
quitanic.
Chron.

383.

Gildas.
388.
Beda.
Nenn.

389.

Socrat. L. 7.

Claudian.
de laud.
Stil. I. 2. &
de bel. Git.

402.

Armorica, which *Maximus* had giv'n them to possess, the South of *Britan* by this means exhausted of her youth, and what there was of Roman Soldiers on the Confines drawn off, became a prey to savage Invasions; of *Scots* from the Irish Seas, of *Saxons* from the *German*, of *Picts* from the North. Against them, first *Chrysanthus* the Son of *Marcian* a Bishop, made Deputy of *Britan* by *Theodosius*, demean'd himself worthily: then *Stilicho* a man of great Power, whom *Theodosius*, dying, left Protector of his Son *Honorius*, either came in person, or sending over sufficient aid, repress'd them, and as it seems new fortifi'd the Wall against them. But that Legion being call'd away, when the Roman Armies from all parts hasted to relieve *Honorius* then besieg'd in *Asta of Piemont*, by *Alaric*

Alaric the Goth, Britan was left expos'd as before, to those Barbarous Robbers. Lest any wonder how the *Scots* came to infest *Britan* from the *Irish Sea*, it must be understood, that the *Scots* not many years before had been driven all out of *Britan* by *Maximus*; and thir King *Eugenius* slain in fight; as thir own Annals report: whereby, it seems, wandring up and down, without certain seat, they liv'd by scumming those Seas and Shoars as Pirats. But more Authentic Writers confirm us, that the *Scots*, whoever they be originally, camie first into *Ireland*, and dwelt there, and nam'd it *Scotia* long before the North of *Britan* took that name. About this time, though troublsom, *Pelagius* a *Britan* found the leasure to bring new and dangerous Opinions into the Church, and is largely writ against by S^t *Austin*. But the *Roman Powers* which were call'd into *Italy*, when once the fear of *Alaric* was over, made return into several Provinces: and perhaps *Victorinus of Tolosa*, whom *Rutilius* the Poet much commends, might be then Prefect of the Iland: if it were not he whom *Stilicho* sent hither. *Buchanan* writes, that endeavouring to reduce the *Picts* into a Province, he gave the occasion of thir calling back *Fergusius* and the *Scots*, whom *Maximus* with thir help had quite driv'n out of the Iland: and indeed the Verses of that Poet speak him to have bin active in those parts. But the time which is assign'd him later by *Buchanan* after *Gratianus Municeps*, by *Camden*, after *Constantine the Tyrant*, accords not with that which follows in

Ethelwerd.

Sax. an.

Bede Epit.

in the year

565. and

Bede, L. 2.

6. 4.

405.

the plain course of Historie. For the *Vandals* having broke in and wasted all *Belgia*, eev'n to those places from whence easiest passage is into *Britan*, the *Roman Forces* heer, doubting to be suddenly invaded, were all in uproar, and in tumultuous manner set up *Marcus*, who it may seem was then Deputy. But him *Sorom. L. 9.* not found agreeable to thir heady courses, they as hastily kill : for the giddy favour of a mutining rout is as dangerous as thir furie. The like they do by *Gratian* a *British Roman*, in *Oros. L. 7.* four Months advanc't, ador'd, and destroy'd. There was among them a common Souldier whose name was *Constantine*, with him on a sudden so taken they are, upon the conceit put in them of a luckiness in his name, as without other visible merit to create him Emperor. It fortun'd that the man had not his name for nought ; so well he knew to lay hold, and make good use of an unexpected offer. He therefore with a wak'n'd spirit, to the extent of his Fortune dilating his mind, which in his mean condition before lay contracted and farunk up, orders with good advice his military affairs : and with the whole force of the Province, and what of *British* was able to bear Arms, he passes into *France*, aspiring at least to an equal share with *Honorius* in the Empire. Whereby the valour of *Edobecus* a *Frank*, and *Gerontius* a *Britan*, and partly by perswasion gaining all in his way, he comes to *Arles*. With like felicity by his Son *Constans*, whom of a Monk he had made a *Cæsar*, and by the conduct of *Gerontius* he reduces all *Spani* to his

his obedience. But *Constans* after this displacing *Gerontius*, the affairs of *Constantine* soon went to wrack : for he by this means alienated, set up *Maximus* one of his friends against him in *Spain*; and passing into *France*, took *Vienna* by assault, and having slain *Constans* in that City, calls on the *Vandals* against *Constantine*; who by him incited, as by him before they had bin repress'd, breaking forward, over-run most part of *France*. But when *Constantius* comes, the Emperors General, with a strong power came out of *Italy*, *Gerontius* deserted by his own Forces, retires into *Spain*; where also growing into contempt with the Souldiers, after his flight out of *France*, by whom his House in the night was beset, having first with a few of his Servants defended himself valiantly, and slain above 300, though when his darts and other weapons were spent, he might have scap'd at a private door, as all his Servants did, not enduring to leave his Wife *Nonnichia*, whom he lov'd, to the violence of an enraged crew, he first cuts off the head of his friend *Alanus*, as was agreed; next his Wife, though loth and delaying, yet by her entreated and importun'd, refusing to outlive her Husband, he dispatches : for which her resolution *Sozomenus* an Ecclesiastic Writer gives her high praise, both as a Wife, and as a Christian. Last of all against himself he turns his Sword; but missing the mortal place, with his poinard finishes the work. Thus farr is poursu'd the Story of a famous *Britan*, related negligently by our other Historians. As for

Sozom. L.9.
Olympiod.
apud Photium.

Constantine,

Constantine, his ending was not answerable to his setting out : for he with his other Son *Julian* besieg'd by *Constantius* in *Arles*, and mis-trusting the change of his wonted success, to save his head, poorly turns Priest ; but that not availing him, is carried into *Italy*, and there put to death ; having four years acted the Emperor. While these things were doing, the *Britans* at home destitute of *Roman* aid, and the chief strength of thir own youth, that went first with *Maximus*, then with *Con-* Gildas.
Beda. *stantine*, not returning home, vexed, and har-ras'd by thir wonted Enemies, had sent mes-sages to *Honorius* ; but he at that time not be-ing able to defend *Rome* it self, which the same year was taken by *Alaric*, advises them by his Letter to consult how best they might for thir own safety, and acquits them of the *Roman* Ju-risdiction. They therefore thus relinquish't, Procopius
Vandalis. and by all right the Government relapsing in-to thir own hands, thenceforth betook them-selvs to live after thir own Laws, defending thir bounds as well as they were able, and the *Armoricans*, who not long after were call'd the *Britans* of *France*, follow'd thir Example. Thus expir'd this great Empire of the *Romans*, first in *Britan*, soon after in *Italy* it self : hav-ing born chief sway in this Iland, though ne-ver throughly subdu'd, or all at once in subjection, if we reck'n from the coming in of *Julius* to the taking of *Rome* by *Alaric*, in which year *Honorius* wrote those Letters of discharge Calvis.
Sigon. into *Britan*, the space of 462 years. And with the Empire fell also what before in this We-

stern World was chiefly *Roman*; Learning, Valour, Eloquence, History, Civility, and eev'n Language it self, all these together, as it were, with equal pace diminishing, and decaying. Henceforth we are to stear by another sort of Authors; neer anough to the things they write, as in thir own Countrie, if that would serve; in time not much belated, some of equal age; in expression barbarous; and to say how judicious, I suspend a while: this we must expect; in civil matters to find them dubious Relaters, and still to the best advantage of what they term Holy Church, meaning indeed themselvs: in most other matters of Religion, blind, astonish'd, and strook with Superstition as with a Planet; in one word, Monks. Yet these Guides, where can be had no better, must be follow'd; in gross, it may be true anough; in circumstance each man as his judgment gives him, may reserve his Faith, or bestow it. But so different a state of things requires a several Relation.

The End of the Second Book.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF

BRITAIN.

BOOK III.

THIS Third Book having to tell of accidents as various and exemplary, as the intermission or change of Government hath any where brought forth, may deserve attention more than common, and repay it with like benefit to them who can judiciously read: considering especially that the late Civil Broils had cast us into a condition not much unlike to what the *Britans* then were in, when the Imperial Jurisdiction departing hence left them to the sway of their own Councils; which times by comparing seriously with these later, and that confused Anarchy with this interreign, we may be able from two such remarkable turns of State, producing like events among us, to raise a

knowledge of our selvs both great and weighty, by judging hence what kind of men the *Britans* generally are in matters of so high enterprise, how by nature, industry, or custom fitted to attempt or undergoe matters of so main consequence: for if it be a high point of wisdom in every private man, much more is it in a Nation to know it self; rather than putt up with vulgar flatteries, and encomiums, for want of self-knowledge, to enterprise rashly and come off miserably in great undertakings. The *Britans* thus as we heard being left without Protection from the Empire, and the Land in a manner emptied of all her youth, consumed in Warrs abroad, or not caring to return home, themselvs through long subjection, servile in mind, sloathful of body, and with the use of Arms unacquainted, sustain'd but ill for many years the violence of those barbarous invaders, who now daily grew upon them. For although at first greedy of Change, and to be thought the leading Nation to freedom from the Empire, they seem'd a while to bestir them with a shew of diligence in thir new affairs, som secretly aspiring to Rule, others adoring the name of Liberty, yet so soon as they felt by proof the weight of what it was to govern well themselvs, and what was wanting within them, not stomach or the love of licence, but the Wisdom, the Virtue, the Labour, to use and maintain True Libertie, they soon remitted their heat, and shrunk more wretchedly under the burden of their own Libertie, than before under a Foren Yoke. In
somuch

*Gild. Bede.
Malins.*

Zorim.L.6.

somuch that the residue of those *Romans* which had planted themselvs heer, despairing of thir ill deportment at home, and weak resistance in the field by thos few who had the courage, or the strength to bear Arms, nine years after the facking of *Rome* remov'd out of *Britan* into *France*, hiding for halte great part of thir Treasure, which was never after found. And now again the *Britans*, no longer able to support themselvs against the prevailing Enemy, sollicit *Honorius* to thir Aid, with mournfull Letters, Embassages and Vows of Perpetual Subjection to *Rome* if the Northern Foe were but repuls't. He at thir request spares them one Legion, which with great slaughter of the *Scots* and *Picts* drove them beyond the Borders, rescu'd the *Britans*, and advis'd them to build a Wall cross the Iland, between Sea and Sea, from the place where *Edinburg* now stands to the Frith of *Dunbritton*, by the City *Alcluth*. But the material being only Turf, and by the rude multitude unartificially built up without better direction, avail'd them little. For no sooner was the Legion departed, but the greedy spoilers returning, land in great numbers from thir Boats and Pinaces, wast-ing, slaying, and treading down all before them. Then are Messengers again posted to *Rome* in lamentable fort, beseeching that they would not suffer a whole Province to be destroy'd, and the *Roman* name, so honourable yet among them, to become the subject of barbarian scorn and insolence. The Emperor, at thir sad complaint, with what speed was pos-

418.

Ethelwerd.
*annal. Sax.**Gildas.*

422.

*Diaconus.**L. 14.**Bede. L. 1.**c. 2.**Gildas.*

423.

sible sends to thir succour. Who coming suddenly on those ravenous multitudes that minded only spoil, surprise them with a terrible slaughter. They who escap'd, fled back to those Seas, from whence yearly they were wont to arrive, and return lad'n with booties. But the *Romans* who came not now to Rule, but charitably to aid, declaring that it stood not longer with the ease of thir Affairs to make such laborious voyages in pursuit of so base and vagabond robbers, of whom neither glory was to be got, nor gain, exhorted them to manage thir own warfare ; and to defend like men thir Country, thir Wives, thir Children, and what was to be dearer than life, thir Liberty, against an Enemy not stronger than themselves, if thir own sloth and cowardise had not made them so ; if they would but only find hands to grasp defensive Arms, rather than basely stretch them out to receave bonds.

Bede ibid.

Gildas.

They gave them also thir help to build a new Wall, not of earth as the former, but of stone (both at the public cost, and by particular contributions) traversing the Ile in direct line from East to West between certain Cities placed there as Frontiers to bear off the Enemy, where *Severus* had wall'd once before. They rais'd it twelve foot high, eight broad. Along the South shoar, because from thence also like hostility was fear'd, they place Towers by the Seaside at certain distances, for safety of the Coast. Withall they instruct them in the Art of Warr, leaving Patterns of thir Arms and Weapons behind them ; and with animating

words,

words, and many lessons of valour to a faint-hearted audience, bid them finally farewell, without purpose to return. And these two friendly Expeditions, the last of any hither by the *Romans*, were perform'd, as may be gather'd out of *Beda*, and *Diaconus*, the two last years of *Honorius*. Thir Leader, as som mo-
 Blond.
dernly write, was *Gallio* of *Ravenna*; *Buchanan*, who departs not much from the Fables of *Sabellio*. his Predecessor *Boethius*, names him *Maximus*, and brings against him to this Battel *Fergus* first King of *Scots* after thir second suppos'd coming into *Scotland*, *Durstus* King of *Picts*, both there slain, and *Dioneth* an imaginary King of *Britan*, or Duke of *Cornwall*, who improbablie sided with them against his own Countrye, hardlie escaping. With no les^{Buch. L. 5.}x actness of particular circumstances, he takes upon him to relate all those tumultuarie in-
rodes of the *Scots* and *Picts* into *Britan*, as if they had but yesterday happen'd, thir order of Battel, manner of Fight, number of Slain, Articles of Peace, things whereof *Gildas* and *Beda* are utterly silent, Authors to whom the *Scotch* Writers have none to cite comparable in Antiquity; no more therefore to be beleev'd for bare assertions, however quaintlie drest, than our *Geofry of Monmouth* when he varies most from authentick storie. But either the inbred vanity of some, in that respect unworthily call'd Historians, or the fond zeal of praising thir Nations above truth hath so far transported them, that where they find nothing faithfully to relate, they fall confidently to invent what

what they think may either best set off thir Historie, or magnifie thir Countrie. The *Scots* and *Picts* in manners differing somwhat from each other, but still unanimous to rob and spoile, hearing that the *Romans* intended not to return, from thir Gorroghs, or Leatherne Frigats pour out themselves in swarms upon the Land, more confident than ever: and from the North end of the Ile to the very Wall side, then first took possession as Inhabitants; while the *Britans* with idle Weapons in thir hands stand trembling on the Battlements, till the half-naked Barbarians with thir long and formidable Iron hooks pull them down headlong. The rest not only quitting the Wall but Towns and Cities, leave them to the bloody pursuer, who follows killing, wasting, and destroying all in his way. From these confusions arose a Famin, and from thence Discord and Civil Commotion among the *Britans*: each man living by what he rob'd or took violently from his Neighbour. When all stores were consumed and spent where men inhabited, they be-took them to the Woods, and liv'd by hunting, which was thir only sustainment. To the heaps of these evils from without, were added new divisions within the Church. For *Agricola* the Son of *Severianus* a *Pelagian* Bishop had spread his Doctrine wide among the *Britans* not uninfecte before. The founder part neither willing to embrace his Opinion to the overthrow of Divine Grace, nor able to refute him, crave assistance from the Churches of *France*: who send them *Germannus* Bishop of

Gildas.
Bede.

Bede.
Constant.

Auxerre,

Auxerre, and *Lupus of Troyes*. They by continual preaching in Churches, in Streets, in Fields, and not without Miracles, as is written, confirm'd som, regain'd others, and at *Vercoulam* in a public Disputation put to silence thir Chief Adversaries. This Reformation in the Church was beleev'd to be the cause of thir success a while after in the Field. For the *Saxons* and *Picts* with joyn Force, which was no new thing before the *Saxons* at least had any dwelling in this Iland, during the abode of *Germanus* heer, had made a strong impression from the North. The *Britans* marching out against them, and mistrusting thir own Power, send to *Germanus* and his Colleague, reposing more in the spiritual strength of those two men, than in thir own thousands arm'd. They came, and thir presence in the Camp was not less than if a whole Army had come to second them. It was then the time of *Lent*, and the people instructed by the daily Sermons of these two Pastors, came flocking to receave Baptism. There was a place in the Camp set apart as a Church, and trick'd up with boughs upon *Easter-day*. The Enemy understanding this, and that the *Britans* were tak'n up with Religions more than with feats of Arms, advances, after the Paschal Feast, as to a certain Victorie. *German* who also had Intelligence of thir approach, undertakes to be Captain that day; and riding out with selected Troops to discover what advantages the place might offer, lights on a Valley compass't about with Hills, by which the Enemy was to pass. And placing

429.

*Prop.
Aquit.**Math. Wib.
ad ann.*

446.

430.

*Conflant.
vit. Germ.*

placing there his ambush, warns them that what word they heard him pronounce aloud the same they should repeat with universal shout. The Enemy passes on securely, and *German* thrice aloud cries *Halleluia*; which answered by the Souldiers with a sudd'n burst of clamour, is from the Hills and Valleys redoubled. The *Saxons* and *Picts* on a sudden supposing it the noise of a huge Hoast, throw themselvs into flight, casting down thir Arms, and great numbers of them are drown'd in the River which they had newly pass'd. This Victory, thus won without hands, left to the *Britans* plenty of spoile, and to the person and the preaching of *German* greater Authority and reverence than before. And the exploit might pass for current, if *Constantius*, the Writer of his Life in the next Age, had resolv'd us how the *British* Army came to want baptizing; for of any Paganism at that time, or long before, in the Land we read not, or that *Pelagianism* was re-baptiz'd. The place of this Victory, as is reported, was in *Flintshire* by a Town call'd *Gwid-cruc*, and the River *Allen*, where a field retains the name of *Maes German* to this day. But so soon as *German* was return'd home, the *Scots* and *Picts*, though now so many of them Christians, that *Palladius* a Deacon was ordain'd and sent by *Celestine* the Pope to be a Bishop over them, were not so well reclaim'd, or not so many of them as to cease from doing mischief to thir Neighbours, where they found no impeachment to fall in yearly as they were wont. They therefore

*Uffe. Pri-
mord. p.
333.*

*431.
Prosp.
Aquit.*

*Ethelwerd.
Florent.
Gild. Bede.*

sore of the *Britans* who perhaps were not yet wholly ruin'd, in the strongest and South-west parts of the Ile, send Letters to *Aetius*, then third time Consul of *Rome*, with this super-
scription; *To Aetius thrice Consul, the groanes of the Britans.* And after a few words thus, *The*

Malmsbury

L.I.c.1.p.8.

446.

Barbarians drive us to the Sea, the Sea drives us back to the Barbarians; thus bandied up and down between two deaths we perish, either by the Sword or by the Sea. But the Empire at that time overspread with *Hunns* and *Vandals*, was not in condition to lend them aid. Thus rejected and wearied out with continual flying from place to place, but more afflicted with Famine, which then grew outrageous among them, many for hunger yielded to the Enemy, others either more resolute, or less expos'd to wants, keeping within Woods and Mountainous places, not only defended themselves, but sallying out at length gave a stop to the insulting Foe with many seasonable defeats; led by some eminent person, as may be thought, who exhorted them not to trust in thir own strength, but in Divine assistance. And perhaps no other heer is meant than the foresaid deliverance by *German*, if computation would permit, which *Gildas* either not much regarded, or might mistake; but that he tarried so long heer, the Writers of his Life assent not. Finding therefore such opposition, the *Gildas.* *Scots* or *Irish* Robbers, for so they are indifferently term'd, without delay get them home. The *Picts*, as before was mentioned, then first began to settle in the utmost parts of the Iland,

using

using now and then to make inroads upon the *Britans*. But they in the mean while thus ridd of their Enemies, begin afresh to Till the Ground; which after cessation yields her fruit in such abundance, as had not formerly bin known for many Ages. But wantonnes and luxury, the wonted companions of plenty, grow up as fast, and with them, if *Gildas* de serve belief, all other Vices incident to human corruption. That which he notes especially to be the chief perverting of all good in the Land, and so continued in his days, was the hatred of truth, and all such as durst appear to vindicate and maintain it. Against them, as against the only disturbers, all the malice of the Land was bent. Lies and falsities, and such as could best invent them, were only in request. Evil was embrac'd for good, wickednes honour'd and esteem'd as virtue. And this quality thir valour had, against a Foren Enemy to be ever backward and heartless; to Civil Broils eager and prompt. In matters of Government, and the search of Truth, weak and shallow, in falsehood and wicked deeds pregnant and industrious. Pleasing to God, or not pleasing, with them weighed alike; and the worse most an end was the weightier. All things were done contrary to Public Welfare and Safety; nor only by Secular Men, for the Clergy also, whose Example should have guided others, were as vicious and corrupt. Many of them besotted with continual drunkenness; exwln with pride and willfulness, full of contention, full of envy, indiscreet, incompetent

Judges

Judges to determine what in the practice of life is good or evil, what lawful or unlawful. Thus furnish'd with judgment, and for manners thus qualifi'd both Priest and Lay, they agree to chuse them several Kings of thir own; as neer as might be, likest themselves; and the words of my Author import as much. Kings were anointed, faith he, not of Gods anointing, but such as were cruellest, and soon after as inconsiderately, without examining the truth, put to death by thir anointers, to set up others more fierce and proud. As for the Election of thir Kings (and that they had not all one Monarch, appears both in Ages past and by the sequel) it began, as nigh as may be guess'd, either this Year or the following, when they saw the *Romans* had quite deserted thir claim. About which time also *Pelagianism* again prevailing by means of some few, the *British Clergie* too weak, it seems, at dispute, entreat the second time *German* to thir assistance. Who coming with *Severus* a Disciple of *Lupus* that was his former associate, stands not now to argue, for the people generally continu'd right; but enquiring those Authors of new disturbance, adjudges them to banishment. They therefore by consent of all were deliver'd to *German*; who carrying them over with him, dispos'd of them in such place where neither they could infect others, and were themselves under cure of better instruction. But *Germanus* the same year dy'd in *Italy*; and the *Britans* not long after found themselves again in much perplexity, with no flight

447.
Constant.
Bede.

448.
Siger.
Gildas.

slight rumour that thir old troublers the *Sons* and *Pilts* had prepar'd a strong invasion, purposing to kill all and dwell themselves in the Land from end to end. But ere thir coming in, as if the instruments of Divine Justice had bin at strife, which of them first should destroy a wicked Nation, the Pestilence forestalling the Sword left scarce alive whom to bury the dead; and for that time, as one extremity keeps off another, preserv'd the Land from a worse incumbrance of those barbarous dispossessors, whom the Contagion gave not leave now to enter farr. And yet the *Britans* nothing better'd by these heavy judgments, the one threatn'd, the other felt, instead of acknowledging the hand of Heaven, run to the Palace of thir King *Vortigern* with complaints and cries of what they suddenly fear'd, from the *Pictish* Invasion. *Vortigern*, who at that time was chief rather than sole King, unless the rest had perhaps left thir Dominions to the common Enemy, is said by him of *Monmouth* to have procur'd the death first of *Constantine*, then of *Constans* his Son, who of a Monk was made King, and by that means to have usurp'd the Crown. But they who can remember how *Constantine* with his Son *Constans* the Monk, the one made Emperor, the other *Cæsar*, perish'd in *France*, may discern the simple fraud of this Fable. But *Vortigern* however coming to Reign, is decipher'd by truer Stories a proud unfortunate Tyrant, and yet of the people much belov'd, because his Vices sorted so well with theirs. For neither

was

was he skill'd in Warr, nor wise in Counsel, but covetous, lustful, luxurious, and prone to all vice; wasting the publick Treasure in gluttony and riot, careles of the common danger, and through a haughty ignorance, unapprehensive of his own. Nevertheless importun'd and awak'd at length by unusual clamours of the people, he summons a general Council, to provide some better means than heeretofore had been us'd against these continual annoyances from the North. Wherein by advice of all it was determin'd, that the *Saxons* be invited into *Britan* against the *Scots* and *Picts*; whose breaking in they either shortly expected, or already found they had not strength anough to oppose. The *Saxons* were a barbarous and heathen Nation, famous for nothing else but robberies and cruelties done to all thir Neighbours both by Sea and Land; in particular to this Iland, witness that military force which the *Roman* Emperors maintain'd heer purposely against them, under a special Commander, whose title, as is found, on good record, was Count of the *Saxon* shoar *Notitiae imperii* in *Britan*; and the many mischiefs done by *perii*. thir landing heer, both alone and with the *Picts*, as above hath bin related, witness as much. They were a people thought by good Writers, to be descended of the *Sace*, a kind of *Scythian* in the North of *Asia*, thence call'd *Sacasons*, or Sons of *Sace*, who with a Flood of other Northern Nations came into *Europe*, toward the declining of the *Roman* Empire; and using Piracy from *Denmark* all along these Seas,

Florent.
Wigorn. ad
an. 370.

Seas, possess'd at length by intrusion all that
Ethelwerd. Coast of *Germany* and the *Nether-lands*, which
 took thence the name of old *Saxony*, lying be-
 tween the *Rhene* and *Elve*, and from thence
 North as far as *Eidora*, the River bounding
Holsatia, though not so firmly, or so largely,
 but that thir multitude wander'd yet uncer-
 tain of habitation. Such guests as these the
Britans resolve now to send for, and entreat
 into thir houses and possessions, at whose very
 name heeretofore they trembl'd afar off. So
 much do men through impatience count ever
 that the heaviest which they bear at present,
 and to remove the evil which they suffer, care
 not to pull on a greater : as if variety and
 change in evil also were acceptable. Or whe-
 ther it be that men in the despair of better,
 imagine fondly a kind of refuge from one mi-
 fery to another.

Ethelwerd. The *Britans* therefore, with
Malmsbur. *Vortigern*, who was then accounted King over
Witichind. them all, resolve in full Council to send Em-
gesft. Sax. bassadors to thir choicest men with great gifts,
L. 1. p. 3. and saith a *Saxon* Writer in these words, de-
 siring thir aid. *Worthy Saxons, hearing the fame*
of your prowess, the distressed Britans wearied out,
and overprest by a continual invading Enemy, have
sent us to beseech your aid. They have a Land
fertile and spacious, which to your commands they
bid us surrender. Heeretofore we have liv'd with
freedom, under the obedience and protection of the
Roman Empire. Next to them we know none wor-
thier than your selves; and therefore become sup-
pliants to your valour. Leave us not below our
present Enemies, and to ought by you impos'd, wil-
lingly

lingly we shall submit. Yet Ethelwerd writes not that they promis'd subjection, but only amity and league: They therefore who had chief rule among them, hearing themselves entreated by the *Britans*, to that which gladly they would have wish't to obtain of them by entreating, to the British Embassy return this *witt'bind.*

answer. Be assur'd henceforth of the *Saxons*, as of faithful friends to the *Britans*, no les ready to stand by them in thir need, than in thir best of fortune. The Embassadors return joyful, and with news as welcome to thir Countrie, whose sinister fate had now blinded them for destruction: The *Saxons*, consult- *Gildas.*

ing first thir Gods (for they had answer, that the Land whereto they went, they should hold 300 years, half that time conquering, and half quietly possessing) furnish out three long Gal- *Bede.*

lies, or Kyules, with a chos'n company of warlike youth, under the conduct of two Brothers, *Hengist* and *Horsa*, descended in the fourth degree from *Woden*; of whom, deify'd for the fame of his acts, most Kings of those Nations derive thir pedigree. These, and either mixt with these, or soon after by themselves, two other Tribes, or neighbouring people, *Jutes* and *Angles*, the one from *Jutland*, the other from *Anglen* by the City of *Sleswick*, both Provinces of *Denmark*, arrive in the first year of *Martian* the Greek Emperor, from the birth of Christ 450, receav'd with much good will of the People first, then of the King, who after some assurances giv'n and tak'n, bestows on them the Isle of *Tanet*, where they first land-

450.
Nennius.
Malmſ.

ed, hoping they might be made heerby more eager against the *Picts*, when they fought as for thir own Countrie, and more loyal to the *Britans*, from whom they had receav'd a place to dwell in, which before they wanted. The *British Nennius* writes, that these Brethren were driv'n into exile out of *Germany*, and to *Vortigern* who reigned in much fear, one while of the *Picts*, then of the *Romans*, and *Ambrosius*, came opportunely into the Hav'n. For it was the custom in old *Saxony*, when thir numerous off-spring overflow'd the narrownes of thir bounds, to send them out by lot into new dwellings, wherever they found room, either vacant or to be forc't. But whether sought, or unsought, they dwelt not heer long without employment. For the *Scots* and *Picts* were now come down, som say, as far as *Stamford* in *Lincoln shire*, whom, perhaps not imagining to meet new opposition, the *Saxons*, though not till after a sharp encounter, put to flight ; and that more than once : slaying in fight, as som *Scotch* Writers affirm, thir King *Eugenius* the Son of *Fergus*. *Hengist* perceaving the Iland to be rich and fruitful, but her Princes and other Inhabitants giv'n to vicious ease, sends word home, inviting others to a share of his good succes. Who returning with seventeen Ships, were grown up now to a sufficient Army, and entertain'd without suspicion on these terms, that they should bear the brunt of War against the *Picts*, receaving stipend and som place to inhabit. With these was brought over the Daughter of *Hengist*, a Virgin

Malmsb.

*Henry Hun-**tingd.**Ethelwerd.**Bed. Nin.**Nenn.*

Virgin wondrous fair, as is reported, *Rowen* the *British* call her : she by commandment of her Father, who had invited the King to a Banquet, coming in presence with a Bowle of Wine to welcome him, and to attend on his Cup till the Feast ended, won so much upon his Fancy, though already wiv'd, as to demand her in mariage upon any conditions. *Hengist* at first, though it fell out perhaps according to his drift, held off, excusing his meanness ; then obscurely intimating a desire and almost a necessity, by reason of his augmented numbers, to have his narrow bounds of *Tanet* enlарg'd to the Circuit of *Kent*, had it streit by donation : though *Guorangonus* till then was King of that place : and so, as it were overcome by the great munificence of *Vortigern*, gave his Daughter. And still encroaching on the Kings favour, got furder leave to call over *Octa* and *Ebissa*, his own and his Brothers Son ; pretending that they, if the North were giv'n them, would sit there as a continual defence against the *Scots*, while himself guarded the East. They therfore fayling with forty Ships eev'n to the *Orcades*, and every way curbing the *Scots* and *Picts*, possess'd that part of the Ile which is now *Northumberland*. Notwithstanding this they complain that thir monthly pay was grown much into arrear ; which when the *Britans* found means to satis-
Gild. Bede.
Ninn.

fault next, that thir pay is too small for the danger they undergo, threatning op'n Warr unless it be augmented. *Guortimer* the Kings Son perceiving his Father and the Kingdom thus betray'd, from that time bends his utmost endeavour to drive them out. They on the other side making League with the *Picts* and *Scots*, and issuing out of *Kent*, wasted without resistance almost the whole Land eev'n to the Western Sea, with such a horrid devasta-tion, that Towns and Colonies overturn'd, Preists and People slain, Temples and Palaces, what with Fire and Sword lay altogether heaped in one mixt ruin. Of all which multitude, so great was the sinfullnes that brought this upon them, *Gildas* adds that few or none were likely to be other than lew'd and wicked persons. The residue of these, part overtak'n in the Mountains were slain; others subdu'd with hunger preferr'd slavery before instant death; som getting to Rocks, Hills and Woods inaccessible, preferr'd the fear and danger of any Death before the shame of a secure slavery; many fled over Sea into other Countries; som into *Holland*, where yet remain the ruins of *Brittenburgh*, an old Castle on the Sea, to be seen at low water not far from *Leiden*; either built, as Writers of thir own affirm, or seis'd on by those *Britans* in thir escape from

Primord.
Pag. 418.

Malmsb. L. *Hengist*: Others into *Armorica*, peopl'd, as som think, with *Britans* long before; either by guift of *Constantine the Great*, or else of *Maximus* to those *British* Forces which had serv'd them in Forein Warrs; to whom those also that

I. c. I.

Huntingd.
L. I.

that miscarried not with the latter *Constantine* at *Arles*; and lastly, these exiles driv'n out by *Saxons*, fled for refuge. But the antient Chronicles of those Provinces attest thir coming thether to be then first when they fled the *Saxons*, and indeed the name of *Britan* in *France* is not read till after that time. Yet how a sort of Fugitives who had quitted without stroke thir own Country, should so soon win another, appears not; unlesjs joyn'd to som party of thir own settl'd there before. *Vortigern* nothing better'd by these calamities, grew at last so obdurat as to commit incest with his Daughter, tempted or tempting him out of an ambition to the Crown. For which beeing censur'd and condemn'd in a great Synod of *Clercs*, and *Laics*, and partly for fear of the *Saxons*, according to the Counsel of his Peers he retir'd into *Wales*, and built him there a strong Castle in *Radnorshire* by the advice of *Ambrosius* a young Prophet, whom others call *M Merlin*. Nevertheless *Faustus*, who was the Son thus incestuously begott'n, under the instructions of *German*, or som of his Disciples, for *German* was dead before, prov'd a Religious man, and liv'd in devotion by the River *Rennis* in *Glamorganshire*. But the *Saxons*, though finding it so easie to subdue the Ile, with most of thir Forces, uncertain for what cause, return'd home: when as the easiness of thir Conquest might seem rather likely to have call'd in more. Which makes more probable that which the *British* write of *Guortemir*. For he coming to Reigne, instead of his Father de-

Ninn.
Malmsb.

Ninn.

Gildas.

Ninn.

pos'd for Incest, is said to have thrice driv'n and besieg'd the *Saxons* in the Ile of *Taneth*; and when they issu'd out with powerful supplies sent from *Saxony*, to have fought with them four other Battells, whereof three are nam'd; the first on the River *Darwent*, the second at *Episford*, wherin *Horsa* the Brother of *Hengist* fell, and on the British part *Catigern* the other Son of *Vortigern*. The third in a Feild by *Stonar* then call'd *Lapis tituli* in *Tanet*, where he beat them into thir Ships that bore them home, glad to have so scap'd, and not venturing to Land again for five years after. In the space whercof *Guortemir* dying, commanded they should bury him in the Port of *Stonar*; perswaded that his bones lying there would be terror anough to keep the *Saxons* from ever landing in that place: They, saith *Ninnius*, neglecting his command, buried him in *Lincoln*. But concerning these times, antiest Annals of the *Saxons* relate in this manner.

455. In the year 455 *Hengist* and *Horsa* fought
Bede. against *Vortigern*, in a place called *Eglefthrip*,
Ethelwerd. now *Ailsford* in *Kent*; where *Horsa* lost his
Florent. life, of whom *Horsted*, the place of his burial,
Annal.Sax. The King-took name. After this first Battel and the
dome of death of his Brother, *Hengist* with his Son *Esca*
Kent. took on him Kingly Title, and peopl'd *Kent* with *Jutes*; who also then or not long after
457. possess'd the Ile of *Wight*, and part of *Hampshire* lying opposite. Two years after in a fight at
Ceganford, or *Craford*, *Hengist* and his Son slew
 of the *Britans* four Cheif Commanders, and
 as many thousand men: the rest in great dis-
 order

465.

473.

order flying to *London*, with the total loss of *Kent*. And eight years passing between, he made new Warr on the *Britans*; of whom in a Battel at *Wippeds-fleet*, twelve Princes were slain, and *Wipped* the *Saxon Earl*, who left his name to that place, though not sufficient to direct us where it now stands. His last encounter was at a place not mention'd, where he gave them such an overthrow, that flying in great fear they left the spoil of all to thir Enemies. And these perhaps are the four Battels, according to *Nennius*, fought by *Guortemir*, though by these Writers far differently related; and happ'ning, besides many other bickerings, in the space of twenty years, as *Malmsbury* reck'ns. Nevertheless it plainly appears that the *Saxons*, by whomsoever, were put to hard shifts, being all this while fought withall in *Kent*, thir own allotted dwelling, and somtimes on the very edge of the Sea, which the word *Wippeds-fleet* seems to intimat. But *Guortemir* now dead, and none of courage left to defend the Land, *Vortigern* either by the power of his faction, or by consent of all, reassumes the Government: and *Hengist* thus rid of his grand opposer, hearing gladly the restorment of his old favourer, returns again with great Forces; but to *Vortigern* whom he well knew how to handle without warring, as to his Son in Law, now that the only Author of dissention between them was remov'd by Death, offers nothing but all terms of new league and amity. The King both for his Wives sake and his own sottishnes, consulting

Nennius.

*Malmesb.**Nin. ex legend.**St. Ger.
Galfrid.
Monmouth.*

ing also with his Peers not unlike himself, readily yields ; and the place of party is agree'd on ; to which either side was to repair without Weapons. *Hengist*, whose meaning was not peace, but treachery, appointed his men to be secretly arm'd, and acquainted them to what intent. The watch-word was *Nemet eow Saxes*, that is, *Draw your Daggers*; which they observing, when the *Britans* were throughly heated with Wine (for the Treaty it seems was not without Cups) and provok'd, as was plotted, by som affront, dispatch'd with those Poniards every one his next man, to the number of 300, the chief of those that could do ought against him either in Counsel or in Field. *Vortigern* they only bound and kept in Custody, until he granted them for his ransom three Provinces, which were called afterward *Essex*, *Sussex*, and *Middlesex*. Who thus dismift, retiring again to his solitary abode in the Country of *Guorthigirniaun*, so call'd by his name, from thence to the Castle of his own building in *North-Wales*, by the River *Tiebi*; and living there obscurely among his Wives, was at length burnt in his Towre by fire from Heav'n at the Praier, as some say, of *German*, but that coheres not ; as others, by *Ambrosius Aurelian*; of whom as we have heard at first, he stood in great fear, and partly for that cause invited in the *Saxons*. Who whether by constraint or of thir own accord after much mischeif don, most of them returning back into thir own Country, left a fair opportunity to the *Britans* of revenging themselves the easier

on

on those that staid behind. Repenting therefore, and with earnest supplication imploring divine help to prevent thir final rooting out, they gather from all parts, and under the leading of *Ambrosius Aurelianuſ*, a vertuous and modest man, the last heer of *Roman* stock, advancing now onward against the late Victors, defeat them in a memorable Battel. Common opinion, but grounded cheifly on the *British Fables*, makes this *Ambrosius* to be a younger Son of that *Constantine*, whose eldest, as we heard, was *Conſtance* the Monk : who both lost thir lives abroad usurping the Empire. But the express words both of *Gildas* and *Bede*, assures us that the Parents of this *Ambrosius* having heer born regal dignity, were slain in these *Pictish Wars* and Commotions in the Iland. And if the fear of *Ambrose* induc'd *Vortigern* to call in the *Saxons*, it seems *Vortigern* usurp'd his right. I perceave not that *Nennius* makes any difference between him and *Merlin* : for that Child without Father that propheci'd to *Vortigern*, he names not *Merlin* but *Ambrose*, makes him the Son of a Roman Consul ; but conceal'd by his Mother, as fearing that the King therfore fought his life ; yet the youth no sooner had confess'd his parentage, but *Vortigern* either in reward of his predictions, oras his right, bestow'd upon him all the West of *Britan* ; himself retiring to a solitary life. Whose ever Son he was, he was the first, according to sureſt Authors, that led against the *Saxons*, and overthrew them ; but whether before this time or after, none have writt'n.

This

Gild. Bed.

This is certain, that in a time when most of the *Saxon* Forces were departed home, the *Britans* gather'd Strength ; and either against those who were left remaining, or against thir whole powers, the second time returning obtain'd this Victory. Thus *Ambrose* as Chief Monarch of the Ile succeeded *Vortigern*; to whose third Son *Pascentius* he permitted the rule of two Regions in *Wales*, *Buelth*, and *Gwathigirniaum*.

Ninn.

In his daies, saith *Nennius*, the *Saxons* prevail'd not much : against whom *Arthur*, as beeing then Cheif General for the *British* Kings, made great War ; but more renown'd in Songs and Romances, than in true stories. And the sequel it self declares as much. For in the year 477 *Ella* the *Saxon*, with his three Sons, *Cymen*, *Pleting*, and *Cissa*, at a place in *Sussex* call'd *Cymenshore*, arrive in three Ships, kill many of the *Britans*, chasing them that remain'd into the Wood *Andreds Leage*.

477.

Sax. An.

Ethelw.

Florent.

485.

Florent.

Hunting.

489.

Malmsb.

Bed. L. 2.

c. 5.

Another Battel was fought at *Mercreds-Burnamsted*, wherin *Ella* had by far the Victory ; but *Huntingdon* makes it so doubtful, that the *Saxons* were constrain'd to send home for supplies. Four year after dy'd *Hengift* the first *Saxon* King of *Kent* ; noted to have attain'd that dignity by craft, as much as valour, and giving scope to his own cruel nature, rather than proceeding by mildnes or civility. His Son *Oeric* furname'd *Oisc*, of whom the *Kentish* Kings were call'd *Oiscings*, succeeded him, and fate content with his Fathers winnings ; more desirous to settle and defend, than to enlarge his bounds : he reign'd twenty

four

four years. By this time *Ella* and his Son *Cissa*,
besieging *Andred-chester*, suppos'd now to be
Newenden in *Kent*, take it by force, and all *camden.*
within it put to the Sword. Thus *Ella* three The King-
years after the death of *Hengift*, began his dome of
Kingdom of the *South-Saxons*; peopling it with
new Inhabitants, from the Country which was
then old *Saxony*, at this day *Holstein* in *Den-*
mark, and had besides at his command all
those Provinces which the *Saxons* had won on
this side *Humber*. Animated with these good
successes, as if *Britan* were become now the
field of *Fortune*, *Kerdic* another *Saxon* Prince,
the tenth by Linage from *Woden*, an old and
practis'd Souldier, who in many prosperous
conflicts against the Enemy in those parts, had
nurs'd up a Spirit too big to live at home with
equals, coming to a certain place which from
thence took the name of *Kerdic-shoar*, with
five Ships, and *Kenric* his Son, the very same
day overthrew the *Britans* that oppos'd him;
and so effectually, that smaller skirmishes af-
ter that day were sufficient to drive them still
furder off, leaving him a large territory. Af-
ter him *Porta* another *Saxon* with his two Sons
Bida and *Megla*, in two Ships arrive at Ports-
mouth thence call'd, and at thir landing flew
a young *British* Nobleman, with many others
who unavisedly set upon them. The *Britans* to
recover what they had lost, draw together all
thir Forces led by *Natanleod*, or *Nazaleod*, a
certain King in *Britan*, and the greatest faith
one; but him with 5000 of his men *Kerdic*
puts to rout and slaires. From whence the place
in

492.

The King-
dome of
South-Sax-
*ons.*Bed. L. I. c.
15. & L.
2. c. 5.Sax. An.
omn.

495.

501.

Sax. an.
omn. Hunt.

508.

Ann. omn.
Huntingd.
camden.

*camd. Uþ.
primord.*

514.
An. omn.

Huntingd.

The King-
dome of
East-Angl.

in *Hantsire*, as far as *Kerdicsford*, now *Chardford*, was call'd of old *Nazaleod*. Who this King should be, hath bred much question; som think it to be the *British* name of *Ambrose*; others to be the right name of his Brother, who for the terror of his eagerness in fight, became more known by the Surname of *Uther*, which in the *Welch Tongue* signifies Dreadful. And if ever such a King in *Britan* there were as *Uther Pendragon*, for so also the *Monmouth* Book furnishes him, this in all likelihood must be he. *Kerdic* by so great a blow giv'n to the *Britans* had made large room about him; not only for the men he brought with him, but for such also of his friends, as he desir'd to make great; for which cause, and withall the more to strengthen himself, his two Nefews *Stuf*, and *Withgar*, in three Vessels bring him new levies to *Kerdic* shoar. Who that they might not come sluggishly to possess what others had won for them, either by thir own seeking, or by appointment, are set in place where they could not but at thir first coming give proof of themselves upon the Enemy: and so well they did it, that the *Britans* after a hard encounter left them Masters of the field. About the same time, *Ella* the first *South-Saxon* King dy'd; whom *Cissa* his youngest succeeded; the other two failing before him. Nor can it be much more or less than about this time, for it was before the *West-Saxon* Kingdom, that *Uffa* the eighth from *Woden* made himself King of the *East-Angles*; who by thir name testifie the Country above mention'd; from whence they came

came in such multitudes, that thir native soil *Malms. L.*
 is said to have remain'd in the daies of *Beda* *I. c. 5.*
 uninhabited. *Huntingdon* deferrs the time of *Bed. L. 1.*
 thir coming in, to the ninth year of *Kerdic's* *c. 15.*
 Reigne : for faith he, at first many of them *Huntingd.*
 strove for principality, seising every one his *L. 2.p.313.*
 Province, and for som while so continued ma- *315.*
 king petty Warrs among themselves ; till in *Bede L. 2.*
 the end *Uffa*, of whom those Kings were call'd *c. 15.*
Uffings, overtop'd them all in the year *571*, *Malm. L. 1.*
 then *Titillus* his Son, the Father of *Redwald*, *c. 6.*
 who became potent. And not much after the
East-Angles, began also the *East-Saxons* to e-
 rect a Kingdom under *Sleda* the tenth from
Woden. But *Huntingdon*, as before, will have
 it later by eleven years, and *Erchenwin* to be
 the first King. *Kerdic* the same in Power,
 though not so fond of Title, forbore the name
 twenty four years after his arrival ; but then
 founded so firmly the Kingdom of *West-Sax-*
ons, that it subiected all the rest at length, and
 became the sole Monarchie of *England*. The *Sax. an.*
 same year he had a Victory against the *Britans* *omn.*
 at *Kerdics-Ford*, by the River *Aven* : and after
 eight years, another great fight at *Kerdics*
Leage, but which won the day is not by any
 set down. Hitherto hath bin collected what
 there is of certainty with circumstance of time
 and place to be found register'd, and no more
 than barely register'd in Annals of best Note ;
 without describing after *Huntingdon* the man-
 ner of those Battels and Encounters, which
 they who compare, and can judge of Books,
 may be confident he never found in any cur-
 rent

The King-
dome of
East-Sax.

519.
The King-
dome of
West-Sax.

527.

Nenn.

rent Author whom he had to follow. But this disease hath bin incident to many more Historians: and the Age wherof we now write, hath had the ill hap, more than any since the first fabulous times, to be surcharg'd with all the idle fancies of Posterity. Yet that we may not rely altogether on *Saxon Relaters*, *Gildas*, in Antiquity far before these, and every way more credible, speaks of these Warrs in such a manner, though nothing conceited of the *British Valour*, as declares the *Saxons* in his time and before to have bin foyl'd not seldom-er than the *Britans*. For besides that first Vi-
ctory of *Ambrose*, and the interchangeable suc-
cess long after, he tells that the last overthrow
which they receav'd at *Badon Hill*, was not the
leafe; which they in thir oldest Annals men-
tion not at all. And because the time of this
Battell, by any who could do more than gues,
is not set down, or any foundation giv'n from
whence to draw a solid compute, it cannot be
much wide to insert it in this place. For such
Authors as we have to follow, give the con-
duct and praise of this exploit to *Arthur*; and
that this was the last of twelv great Battells
which he fought victoriously against the *Sax-
ons*. The several places writt'n by *Nennius* in
thir *Welch names*, were many hunder'd years
ago unknown, and so heer omitted. But who
Arthur was, and whether ever any such reign'd
in *Britan*, hath bin doubted heertofore, and
may again with good reason. For the Monk
of *Malmesbury*, and others whose credit hath
sway'd most with the learneder sort, we may
well

well perceave to have known no more of this *Arthur* 500 years past, nor of his doings, than we now living ; And what they had to say, transcrib'd out of *Nennius*, a very trivial Writer yet extant, which hath already bin related. Or out of a *British Book*, the same which he of *Monmouth* set forth, utterly unknown to the world, till more than 600 years after the daies of *Arthur*, of whom (as *Sigebert* in his Chronicle confesses) all other Histories were silent, both Forein and Domestic, except only that fabulous Book. Others of later time have sought to assert him by old Legends and Cathedral regests. But he who can accept of Legends for good story, may quickly swell a volume with trash, and had need be furnish'd with two only necessaries, leasure and beleif, whether it be the writer, or he that shall read. As to *Artur*, no less is in doubt who was his Father ; for if it be true as *Nennius* or his Notist avers, that *Artur* was call'd *Mab-Uther*, that is to say, a cruel Son, for the fierceness that men saw in him of a Child, and the intent of his name *Arturus* imports as much, it might well be that som in after Ages who sought to turn him into a Fable, wrested the word *Uther* into a proper name, and so fain'd him the Son of *Uther* ; since we read not in any certain story, that ever such person liv'd, till *Geffry* of *Monmouth* set him off with the surname of *Pendragon*. And as we doubted of his parentage, so may we also of his puissance ; for whether that Victory at *Badon Hill* were his or no, is uncertain ; *Gildas* not naming him, as he did *Ambrose* in

*Caradoc.
Llancar-
von. vit.
Gildas.*

*Malmesb.
Antiquit.
Glaston.*

529.

*Primord.
pag. 468.
Polychro-
nic. L. 5.
c. 6.*

the former. Next, if it be true as *Caradoc* relates, that *Melvus* King of that Country which is now *Somerset*, kept from him *Gueniver* his Wife a whole year in the Town of *Glaston*, and restor'd her at the entreaty of *Gildas*, rather than for any enforcement, that *Artur* with all his Chivalry could make against a small Town defended only by a moory situation; had either his knowledge in War, or the force he had to make, bin answerable to the fame they bear, that petty King had neither dar'd such an affront, nor he bin so long, and at last without effect, in revenging it. Considering lastly how the *Saxons* gain'd upon him every where all the time of his suppos'd reign, which began, as som write, in the tenth year of *Kerdic*, who wrung from him by long warr the Countries of *Somerset*, and *Hampshire*; there will remain neither place nor circumstance in story, which may administer any likelihood of those great Acts that are ascribed him. This only is alleg'd by *Nennius* in *Arturs* behalf, that the *Saxons*, though vanquish't never so oft, grew still more numerous upon him by continual supplies out of *Germany*. And the truth is, that valour may be over-toil'd, and overcom at last with endless overcoming. But as for this Battell of Mount *Badon* where the *Saxons* were herfm'd in, or besieg'd, whether by *Artur* won, or whensoever, it seems indeed to have giv'n a most undoubted and important blow to the *Saxons*, and to have stop'd thir proceeding for a good while after. *Gildas* himself witness

sing that the *Britans* having thus compel'd them to sit down with peace, fell thereupon to civil discord among themselvs. Which words may seem to let in some light toward the searching out when this Battel was fought. And we shall find no time since the first *Saxon* Warr, from whence a longer peace ensu'd, than from the fight of *Kerdics Leage* in the year 527, which all the Chronicles mention, without Victory to *Kerdic*; and give us argument from the custome they have of magnifying thir own deeds upon all occasions, to presume heer his ill speeding. And if we look still onward, eev'n to the 44th year after, wherin *Gildas* wrote, if his obscure utterance be understood, we shall meet with very little Warr between the *Britans* and *Saxons*. This *Gildas.*

only remains difficult, that the Victory first won by *Ambrose*, was not so long before this at *Badon Seige*, but that the same men living might be eye-witnesses of both; and by this rate hardly can the latter be thought won by *Artur*, unlesſ we reck'n him a grown youth at least in the daies of *Ambrose*, and much more than a youth, if *Malmsbury* be heard, who affirms all the exploits of *Ambrose*, to have bin don cheifly by *Artur* as his General, which will add much unbeleif to the common asser-tion of his reigning after *Ambrose* and *Uther*, especially the fight at *Badon* being the last of his twelv Battels. But to prove by that which follows, that the fight at *Kerdics Leage*, though it differ in name from that of *Badon*, may be thought the same by all effects; *Kerdic* three

Sax. an.
omn.

534.

544.

years after, not proceeding onward, as his manner was, on the continent, turns back his Forces on the Ile of *Wight*; which with the slaying of a few only in *Withgarburgh*, he soon maisters; and not long surviving, left it to his Nefews by the Mothers side, *Stuff* and *Withgar*; the rest of what he had subdu'd, *Kenric* his Son held; and reign'd 26 years, in whose tenth year *Withgar* was buried in the Town of that Iland which bore his name. Notwithstanding all these unlielihoods of *Artur*'s Reign and great acheivments, in a narration crept in I know not how among the Laws of *Edward the Confessor*, *Artur* the famous King of *Britans*, is said not only to have expell'd hence the *Saracens*, who were not then known in *Europe*, but to have conquer'd *Freesland*, and all the North East Iles as far as *Russia*, to have made *Lapland* the Eastern bound of his Empire, and *Norway* the Chamber of *Britan*. When should this be done? from the *Saxons*, till after twelve Battells, he had no rest at home; after those, the *Britans* contented with the quiet they had from thir *Saxon* Enemies, were so far from seeking Conquests abroad, that, by report of *Gildas* above cited, they fell to Civil Wars at home. Surely *Artur* much better had made War in old *Saxony*, to repress thir flowing hither, than to have won Kingdoms as far as *Russia*, scarce able heer to defend his own. *Buchanan* our Neighbour Historian reprehends him of *Monmouth* and others for fabling in the deeds of *Artur*, yet what he writes thereof himself, as of better credit,

shews

shews not whence he had but from those Fables ; which he seems content to beleive in part, on condition that the *Scots* and *Picts* may be thought to have assisted *Arthur* in all his Wars and Atchievements, whereof appears as little ground by any credible story, as of that which he most counts Fabulous. But not furder to contest about such uncertainties. In the year 547, *Ida* the Saxon, sprung also from *Woden* in the tenth degree, began the King-dome of *Bernicia* in *Northumberland*; built the Town *Bebbanburg*, which was after wall'd; and had twelv Sons, half by Wives, and half by Concubines. *Hengist* by leave of *Vortigern*, we may remember, had sent *Octa* and *Ebissa* to seek them seats in the North, and there by warring on the *Picts*, to secure the Southern parts. Which they so prudently effected, that what by force and fair proceeding, they well quieted those Countries; and though so far diistant from *Kent*, nor without power in their hands, yet kept themselves nigh 180 years within moderation; and as Inferiour Governors, they and thir off-spring gave obedience to the Kings of *Kent*, as to the elder Family. Till at length following the example of that Age; when no less than Kingdoms were the prize of every fortunat Commander, they thought it but reason, as well as others of thir Nation, to assume Royalty. Of whom *Ida* was the first, a man in the prime of his years, and of Parentage as we heard; but how he came to wear the Crown, aspiring or by free choise, is not said. Certain enough it is, that his ver-

547.
The King-
dome of
*Northum-
berland*.
An. omn.
Bed. Epit.
Malmsb.

tues made him not less Noble than his birth, in Warr undaunted, and unfoil'd ; in Peace tempring the aw of Magistracy, with a natural mildness: he reign'd about twelv years. In the

552.

Annal. omn.

556.

Camden.

560.

*Annal.**Florent.*

561.

*Malmesb.**Ann. omn.*

568.

Kenric in a fight at *Saresbirig*, now *Salsbury*, kil'd and put to flight many of the *Britans*; and the fourth year after at *Beranvirig*, now *Banbury*, as som think, with *Keanlin* his Son put them again to flight. *Keanlin* shortly after succeeded his Father in the *West-Saxons*. And *Alla* descended also of *Woden*, but by another Line, set up a second Kingdom in *Deira* the South part of *Northumberland*, and held it thirty years; while *Adda* the Son of *Ida*, and five more after him reign'd without other memory in *Bernicia*: and in *Kent*, *Ethelbert* the next year began. For *Esca* the Son of *Hengift* had left *Otha*, and he *Emeric* to Rule after him; both which without adding to thir bounds, kept what they had in peace fifty three years. But *Ethelbert* in length of Reign equal'd both his Progenitors, and as *Beda* counts, three years exceeded. Young at his first entrance, and unexperienc'd, he was the first raiser of Civil Warr among the *Saxons*; claiming from the priority of time wherin *Hengift* took possession here, a kind of right over the later Kingdoms; and thereupon was troublesome to thir Confines: but by them twise defeated, he who but now thought to seem dreadfull, became almost contemptible. For *Keanlin* and *Cutha* his Son, persuing him into his own Territory, flew there in Battel, at *Wibbandun*, two of his Earls, *Oflac*, and *Cneban*,

ban. By this means the *Britans*, but cheifly by this Victory at *Badon*, for the space of fourty four years ending in 571, receav'd no great annoyance from the *Saxons*: but the peace they enjoy'd, by ill using it, prov'd more destructive to them than War. For being rais'd on a sudden by two such eminent successes, from the lowest condition of thralldome, they whose Eyes had beheld both those deliverances, that by *Ambrose*, and this at *Badon*, were taught by the experience of either Fortune, both Kings, Magistrates, Priests, and privat men, to live orderly. But when the next Age, *Gildas.* unacquainted with past Evils, and only sensible of thir present ease and quiet, succeeded, strait follow'd the apparent subversion of all truth, and justice, in the minds of most men: scarce the least footstep, or impression of goodness left remaining through all ranks and degrees in the Land; except in som so very few, as to be hardly visible in a general corruption: which grew in short space not only manifest, but odious to all the Neighbour Nations. And first thir Kings, among whom also, the Sons or Grand-Children of *Ambrose*, were foully degenerated to all Tyranny and Vicious Life. Wherof to hear som particulars out of *Gildas* will not be impertinent. They avenge, saith he, and they protect; not the innocent, but the guilty: they swear oft, but perjure; they wage Warr, but civil and unjust Warr. They punish rigorously them that rob by the high way; but those grand Robbers that sit with them at Table, they honour and reward. They

give alms largely, but in the face of thir Alms-deeds, pile up wickedness to a far higher heap. They sit in the seat of Judgment, but goe sel-dome by the rule of right ; neglecting and proudly overlooking the modest and harmless ; but countenancing the audacious, though guilty of abominablest crimes ; they stuff thir Prisons, but with men committed rather by circumvention, than any just cause. Nothing better were the Clergy, but at the same passe or rather worse, than when the *Saxons* came first in ; Unlerned, Unapprehensive, yet impudent ; subtle Prowlers, Pastors in Name, but indeed Wolves ; intent upon all occasions, not to feed the Flock, but to pamper and well line themselvs : not call'd, but seising on the Ministry as a Trade, not as a Spiritual Charge : teaching the People, not by sound Doctrin, but by evil Example : usurping the Chair of *Peter*, but through the blindness of thir own worldly lusts, they stumble upon the Seat of *Judas* : deadly haters of truth, broachers of lies : looking on the poor Christian with Eyes of Pride and Contempt ; but fawning on the wickedest rich men without shame : great promoters of other mens Alms with thir fet Exhortations ; but themselvs contributing ever least ; slightly touching the many Vices of the Age, but preaching without end thir own greivances, as don to Christ ; seeking after preferments and degrees in the Church more than after Heav'n ; and so gain'd, make it thir whole study how to keep them by any Tyranny. Yct lest they should be thought things of

no use in thir eminent places, they have thir niceties and trivial points to keep in awe the superstitious multitude ; but in true saving knowledge leave them still as gross and stupid as themselves ; bunglers at the Scripture, nay forbidding and silencing them that know ; but in worldly matters , practis'd and cunning Shifters ; in that only Art and Symony, great Clercs and Maisters, bearing thir heads high, but thir thoughts abject and low. He taxes them also as gluttonous, incontinent, and daily Drunkards. And what shouldest thou expect from these, poor Laity, so he goes on, these beasts, all belly ? shall these amend thee, who are themselves laborious in evil doings ? shalt thou see with their Eyes, who see right forward nothing but gain ? Leave them rather, as bids our Saviour, lest ye fall both blind-fold into the same perdition. Are all thus ? Perhaps not all, or not so grossly. But what avail'd it *Eli* to be himself blameless, while he conniv'd at others that were abominable ? who of them hath bin envi'd for his better life ? who of them hath hated to confort with these, or withstand thir entring the Ministry, or endeavour'd zealously thir casting out ? Yet som of these perhaps by others are legended for great Saints. This was the state of Government, this of Religion among the *Britans*, in that long calm of Peace, which the fight at *Badon Hill* had brought forth. Wherby it came to pass, that so fair a Victory came to nothing. Towns and Citties were not re inhabited, but lay ruin'd

Primord.
P. 444.

ruin'd and waste ; nor was it long e're dome-
stick Warr breaking out, wasted them more,
For *Britan*, as at other times, had then also
several Kings. Five of whom *Gildas* living
then in *Armorica*, at a safe distance, boldly
reproves by name ; First *Constantine* (fabl'd
the Son of *Cador*, Duke of *Cornwall*, *Artur's*
half Brother by the Mothers side) who then
Reign'd in *Cornwall* and *Devon*, a Tyrannical
and bloody King, polluted also with many
Adulteries : He got into his Power, two young
Princes of the Blood Royal, uncertain whe-
ther before him in Right, or otherwise suspe-
cted : And after Solemn Oath giv'n of thir
safety the year that *Gildas* wrote, slew them
with thir two Governours in the Church, and
in thir Mothers Arms, through the Abbots
Coap, which he had thrown over them, think-
ing by the Reverence of his Vesture to have
withheld the murderer. These are common-
ly suppos'd to be the Sons of *Mordred*, *Artur's*
Nefew, said to have revolted from his Uncle,
giv'n him in a Battel his deaths wound, and
by him after to have bin slain. Which things
were they true, would much diminish the
blame of cruelty in *Constantine*, revenging *Ar-
tur* on the Sons of so false a *Mordred*. In an-
other part, but not expres'd where, *Aure-
lius Conanus* was King : him he charges also
with Adulteries, and Parricide ; Cruelties
worse than the former ; to be a hater of his
Countries Peace, thirsting after Civil War
and Prey. His condition it seems was not
very prosperous ; for *Gildas* wishes him, be-
ing

ing now left alone, like a Tree withering in the midst of a barren field, to remember the vanity, and arrogance of his Father, and elder Brethren, who came all to untimely death in thir youth. The third reigning in *Demeta*, or *South Wales*, was *Vortapor*, the Son of a good Father ; he was when *Gildas* wrote, grown old, not in years only, but in Adulteries, and in governing full of falsehood, and cruel Actions. In his latter daies, putting away his Wife, who dy'd in divorce, he became, if we mistake not *Gildas*, incestuous with his Daughter. The fourth was *Cuneglas*, imbru'd in Civil Warr ; he also had divorc'd his Wife, and tak'n her Sister, who had vow'd Widdowhood : he was a great Enemy to the Clergy, high-minded, and trusting to his wealth. The last, but greatest of all in power, was *Maglocune*, and greatest also in wickedness ; he had driv'n out or slain many other Kings, or Tyrants ; and was called the *Island Dragon*, perhaps having his seat in *Anglesey* ; a profuse giver, a great Warrior, and of a goodly stature. While he was yet young, he overthrew his Uncle, though in the head of a compleat Army, and took from him the Kingdom : then touch't with remorse of his doings, not without deliberation took upon him the profession of a Monk ; but soon forsook his Vow, and his Wife also, which for that Vow he had left, making Love to the Wife of his Brothers Son then living. Who not refusing the offer, if she were not rather the first that entic'd, found means both to dispatch her own

own Husband, and the former Wife of *Maglocune*, to make her marriage with him the more unquestionable. Neither did he this for want of better instructions, having had the learnedest and wisest man reputed of all *Britan*, the instituter of his youth. Thus much, the utmost that can be learnt by truer story, of what past among the *Britans* from the time of thir useleſs Victory at *Badon*, to the time that *Gildas* wrote, that is to say, as may be gueſt't, from 527 to 571, is here set down all together; not to be reduc't under any certainty of years. But now the *Saxons*, who for the most part all this while had bin still, unlesſ among themſelvs, began afresh to assault them, and e're long to drive them out of all which they yet maintain'd on this ſide *Wales*.

571.
Camden.
Ann. omn.

For *Cuthulf* the Brother of *Keaulin*, by a Victory obtain'd at *Bedanford*, now *Bedford*, took from them four good Towns, *Liganburgh*, *Eglesburgh*, *Besington*, now *Benson* in *Oxfordshire*, and *Ignesham*; but outliv'd not many months his good ſuccesſ. And after six years

577.
more, *Keaulin*, and *Cuthwin* his Son, gave them a great overthrow at *Deorham* in *Gloſterſhire*, flew three of thir Kings, *Comail*, *Condian*, and *Farinmaile*, and took three of thir Cheif Citties; *Gloceſter*, *Cirenceſter*, and *Badenceſter*. The *Britans* notwithstanding, after ſome ſpace of time, judging to have out-grown thir loſſes, gather to a head, and encounter

584.
Keaulin with *Cutha* his Son, at *Fethanleage*; whom valiantly fighting, they flew among the thickest, and as is ſaid, forc'd the *Saxons* to retire.

retire. But *Keaulin* reinforcing the fight, put *Huntingd.* them to a main rout, and following his ad-
vantage, took many Towns, and return'd la-
den with rich booty. The last of those *Sax-*
ons who rais'd thir own acheivments to a Mo-
narchy, was *Crida*, much about this time, first
founder of the *Mercian* Kingdom, drawing
also his Pedigree from *Woden*. Of whom all
to write the several Genealogies, though it
might be done without long search, were, in
my opinion, to encumber the story with a sort
of barbarous names, to little purpose. This
may suffice, that of *Wodens* three Sons, from
the Eldest issu'd *Hengist*, and his succession;
from the second, the Kings of *Mercia*; from *Malms. L.*
the third, all that Reign'd in *West-Saxon*, and *I. c. 3.*
most of the *Northumbers*, of whom *Alla* was
one, the first King of *Deira*; which, after his
death, the Race of *Ida* seis'd, and made it one
Kingdome with *Bernicia*, usurping on the
Childhood of *Edwin*, *Alla's* Son, whom *E-*
thelric the Son of *Ida* expel'd. Notwithstand-
ing others write of him; that from a poor
life, and beyond hope in his old Age, coming
to the Crown, he could hardly by the access
of a Kingdom, have overcome his former ob-
scurity, had not the fame of his Son preserv'd
him. Once more the *Britans*, e're they quit-
ted all on this side the Mountains, forgot not
to shew some manhood; for meeting *Keaulin*
at *Wodens Beorth*, that is to say, *Wodens Mount*
in *Wiltshire*, whether it were by their owne
Forces, or assisted by the *Angles*, whose hatred
Keaulin had incur'd, they ruin'd his whole
c. 3.

The King-
dome of
Mercia.

Huntingd.
Mat. Westm.

Florent.
ad ann.

559.

588.

Ann. omn.

592.

Florent.

Bed. L. 2.

Army,

*Malmesb.**Florent.**Sax. An.*

593.

Army, and chas'd him out of his Kingdome, from whence flying, he dy'd the next year in poverty, who a little before was the most Potent and indeed Sole King of all the *Saxons* on this side *Humber*. But who was Chief among the *Britans* in this Exploit, had bin worth rememb'ring, whether it were *Maglocune*, of whose prowess hath bin spok'n, or *Teudric* King of *Glamorgan*, whom the Regest of *Landaff* recounts to have bin alwaies victorious in fight ; to have Reign'd about this time, and at length to have exchanged his Crown for a Hermitage ; till in the aid of his Son *Mouric*, whom the *Saxons* had reduc'd to extremes, taking Arms again, he defeated them at *Tinterne* by the River *Wye*; but himself receav'd a mortal wound. The same year with *Keaulin*, whom *Keola* the Son of *Cuthulf*, *Keaulins* Brother succeeded, *Crida* also the *Mercian* King deceas'd, in whose room *Wibba* succeeded ; and in *Northumberland*, *Ethelfrid*, in the room of *Etheberic*; Reigning twenty four years. Thus omitting Fables, we have the veiw of what with reason can be rely'd on for truth, don in *Britan*, since the *Romans* forsook it. Wherein we have heard the many Miseries and Desolations, brought by Divine Hand on a perverse Nation ; driv'n, when nothing else would reform them, out of a fair Country, into a Mountainous and Barren Corner, by Strangers and Pagans. So much more tolerable in the Eye of Heav'n is Infidelity profess't,

fess't, than Christian Faith and Religion dishonoured by unchristian works. Yet they also at length renounc'd thir Heathenism ; which how it came to pass, will be the matter next related.

The End of the Third Book,

THE

Whose selfe the selfe nation did
not to v. 1200. hisfelfe. & the
mineselfe that nation. which is
described by the 157. or 158. of v. 1200.

described by the 157. or 158. of v. 1200.

THE

HISTORY

OF

BRITAIN.

BOOK IV.

THE Saxons grown up now to Seven Absolute Kingdoms, and the latest of them establish'd by succession, finding thir Power arrive well nigh at the utmost of what was to be gain'd upon the *Britans*, and as little fearing to be dis-planted by them, had time now to survey at leasure one anothers greatness. Which quickly bred among them, either envy, or mutual jealousies ; till the West Kingdom at length grown over Powerful, put an end to all the rest. Mean while, above others, *Ethelbert* of *Kent*, who by this time had well rip'dnd his young ambition, with more ability of years and experience in War, what before he attempted to his loss, now successfully attains ; and

Bid. Malm.

and by degrees brought all the other Monarchies between *Kent* and *Humber*, to be at his devotion. To which design the Kingdom of *West-Saxons*, being the firmest of them all, at that time fore shak'n by thir over-throw at *Wodens-beorth*, and the death of *Keanlin*, gave him no doubt a main advantage ; the rest yeilded not subjection, but as he earn'd it by continual Victories. And to win him the *Beda. L. 1.*
more regard abroad, he marries *Bertha* the *c. 25.*
French Kings Daughter, though a Christian, and with this condition, to have the free exercise of her Faith, under the care and instruction of *Letardus* a Bishop, sent by her Parents along with her ; the King notwithstanding and his People retaining thir own Religion. *Beda* out of *Gildas* laies it sadly to the *Bri- Bed. L. 1,*
tans charge, that they never would voutsafe *c. 22.*
their *Saxon Neighbours* the means of Conversion : but how far to blame they were, and what hope there was of converting in the midst of so much hostility, at least falsehood *Beda. L. 2.*
from thir first arrival, is not now easie to de- *c. 1.*
termin. Howbeit not long after, they had the Christian Faith preach't to them by a Nation more remote, and (as a report went, ac- *Malmsb.*
L. 1. c. 3.
counted old in *Bedas* time) upon this occasion. The *Northumbrians* had a Custom at that time, and many hundred years after not abolish't, to sell thir Children for a small value into any Foren Land. Of which number, two comly Youths were brought to *Rome*, whose fair and honest countnances invited *Gregory Arch-Deacon* of that Citty, among others that beheld
L them,

them, pittyng their condition, to demand whence they were; it was answer'd by some who stood by, that they were *Angli* of the Province *Deira*, subjects to *Alla* King of *Northumberland*, and by Religion Pagans. Which last *Gregory* deploring fram'd on a sudden this allusion to the three names he heard; that the *Angli* so like to Angels shoud be snatch'd *de ira*, that is, from the wrath of God, to sing *Hallelujah*: and forthwith obtaining licence of *Benedict* the Pope, had come and preach't heer among them, had not the *Roman* People, whose love endur'd not the absence of so vigilant a Pastor over them, recall'd him then on his journey, though but deferr'd his pious intention. For a while after, succeeding in the Papal Seat, and now in his fourth year, admonisht, faith *Beda*, by divine instinct, he sent *Augustine* whom he had design'd for Bishop of the *English* Nation, and other zealous Monks with him, to preach to them the Gospel. Who being now on thir way, discon-raged by som reports, or thir own carnal fear, sent back *Austin*, in the name of all, to beseech *Gregory* they might return home, and not be sent a journey so full of hazard, to a fierce and infidel Nation, whose Tongue they understood not. *Gregory* with Pious and Apostolic per-fwasions exhorts them not to shrink back from so good a work, but cheerfully to go on in the strength of Divine Assistance. The Letter it self yet extant among our Writers of Ecclesiastic Story, I omit heer, as not professing to relate of those Matters more than what mixes aptly

aptly with Civil Affairs. The Abbot *Austin*, for so he was Ordain'd over the rest, reencourag'd by the Exhortations of *Gregory*, and his Fellows by the Letter which he brought them, came safe to the Ile of *Tanet*, in number about forty, besides som of the French Nation whom they took along as Interpreters. *Ethelbert* the King, to whom *Austin* at his landing had sent a new and wondrous Message, that he came from *Rome* to proffer Heav'r. and Eternal Happiness in the knowledge of another God than the *Saxons* knew, appoints them to remain where they landed, and necessaries to be provided them, consulting in the mean time what was to be done. And after certain days coming into the Iland, chose a place to meet them under the open Sky, possest with an old persuasion, that all Spells, if they should use any to deceive him, so it were not within doors, would be unavailable. They on the other side call'd to his presence, advancing for thir Standard, a silver crofs, and the painted Image of our Saviour, came slowly forward singing thir Solemn Litanies : which wrought in *Ethelbert* more suspicion perhaps that they us'd enchantments ; till sitting down as the King will'd them, they there preach'd to him, and all in that assembly, the tidings of Salvation. Whom having heard attentively, the King thus answer'd. Fair indeed and ample are the promises which ye bring, and such things as have the appearance in them of much good ; yet such as being new and uncertain, I cannot hastily assent to, quitting the Religion which

from my Ancestors, with all the *English* Nation, so many years I have retain'd. Nevertheless because ye are strangers, and have endur'd so long a journey, to impart us the knowledge of things, which I perswade me you believe to be the truest and the best, ye may be sure we shall not recompence you with any molestation, but shall provide rather how we may friendliest entertain ye ; nor do we forbid whom ye can by preaching gain to your belief. And accordingly thir residence he allotted them in *Doroverne* or *Canterbury* his chief Citty, and made provision for thir maintenance, with free leave to preach their Doctrine where they pleased. By which, and by the example of thir holy life, spent in prayer, fasting, and continual labour in the conversion of Souls, they won many ; on whose bounty and the Kings, receiving only what was necessary, they subsisted. There stood without the Citty, on the East-side, an ancient Church built in honour of St. *Martin*, while yet the *Romans* remain'd heer : in which *Bertha* the Queen went out usually to pray : Heer they also began first to preach, baptize, and openly to exercise Divine Worship. But when the King himself convinc't by thir good Life and Miracles, became Christian, and was Baptized, which came to pass in the very first year of thir arrival, then Multitudes daily, conforming to thir Prince, thought it honour to be reckon'd among those of his Faith. To *Bed. L. 2.* whom *Ethelbert* indeed principally shewed his favour, but compell'd none. For so he had bin

598.

bed. L. 2.
c. 5.

bin taught by them who were both the Instructors and the Authors of his Faith, that Christian Religion ought to be voluntary, not compell'd. About this time *Kelwulf* the Son of *Cutha Keaulins* Brother reign'd over the *West-Saxons*, after his Brother *Keola* or *Kelric*, and had continual War either with *English*, *Welch*, *Picts*, or *Scots*. But *Austin*, whom with his Fellows, *Ethelbert* now had endow'd with a better place for thir abode in the City, and other possessions necessary to livelihood, crossing into *France*, was by the Arch-bishop of *Arles*, at the appointment of Pope *Gregory*, Ordain'd Arch-bishop of the *English*: and returning, sent to *Rome* *Laurence* and *Peter*, two of his associates, to acquaint the Pope of his good success in *England*, and to be resolv'd of certain Theological, or rather Levitical questions: with answers to which, not proper in this place, *Gregory* sends also to the great work of converting, that went on so happily, a supply of labourers, *Mellitus*, *Justus*, *Paulinus*, *Rufinian*, and many others; who what they were, may be guess't by the stuff which they brought with them, vessels and vestments for the Altar, Coaps, Reliques, and for the Arch-bishop *Austin* a Pall to say Mass in: to such a rank superstition that Age was grown, though some of them yet retaining an emulation of Apostolic Zeal: Lastly, to *Ethelbert* they brought a Letter with many Presents, *Austin* thus exalted to Archiepiscopal Authority, recover'd from the ruins and other profane uses, a Christian Church in *Canterbury*

Sax. An.
Malmsb.
601.

c. 27.

built of old by the *Romans*; which he dedicated by the Name of *Christ's Church*, and joyning to it built a seat for himself and his successors; a Monastery also neer the City Eastward, where *Ethelbert* at his motion built *St. Peters*, and enrich't it with great Endowments, to be a place of burial for the Archbishops and Kings of *Kent*: so quickly they step't up into fellowship of pomp with Kings.

*Bed. L. 2.
c. 34.*

603.

While thus *Ethelbert* and his People had thir minds intent, *Ethelfrid* the *Northumbrian King*, was not less busied in far different Affairs: for being altogether warlike, and covetous of Fame, he more wasted the *Britans* than any *Saxon King* before him; winning from them large Territories, which either he made tributary, or planted with his own Subjects. Whence *Edan King* of those *Scots* that dwelt in *Britan*, jealous of his successes, came against him with a mighty Army, to a place call'd *Degsastan*; but in the fight losing most of his men, himself with a few escap'd: only *Theobald* the Kings Brother, and the whole wing which he Commanded, unfortunately cut off, made the Victory to *Ethelfrid* lesse intire. Yet from that time no King of *Scots* in hostile manner durst pass into *Britan* for a hunderd and more years after: and what som years before, *Kelwulf* the *West-Saxon* is annal'd to have don against the *Scots* and *Picts*, passing through the Land of *Ethelfrid* a King so Potent, unless in his Aid and Alliance, is not likely. *Buchanan* writes as if *Ethelfrid*, assisted by *Keatlin* whom he mistitles King of

East-

East-Saxons, had before this time a battel with *Aidan*, wherein *Cutha Keaulins Son* was slain. But *Cutha*, as is above written from better Authority, was slain in fight against the *Welch* twenty years before. The number of Christians began now to increase so fast, that *Augustine* Ordaining Bishops under him, two of his Assistants *Mellitus* and *Justus*, sent them out both to the work of thir Ministry. And *Mellitus* by preaching converted the *East-Saxons*, over whom *Sebert* the Son of *Sleda*, by permission of *Ethelbert*, being born of his Sister *Ricula*, then reign'd. Whose Conversion *Ethelbert* to gratulate, built them the great Church of St. *Paul* in *London* to be thir Bishops Cathedral; as *Justus* also had his built at *Rochester*, and both gifted by the same King with fair Posseslions. Hitherto *Austin* laboured well among Infidels, but not with like commendation soon after among Christians. For by means of *Ethelbert* summoning the *Britan* Bishops to a place on the edge of *Worcestershire*, call'd from that time *Augustines Oke*, he requires them to conform with him in the same day of Celebrating *Easter*, and many other points wherein they differ'd from the Rites of *Rome*: which when they refus'd to do, not prevailing by dispute, he appeals to a Miraclé, restoring to sight a blind man whom the *Britans* could not cure. At this something mov'd, though not minded to recede from their own Opinions without furder consultation, they request a second meeting: to which came seven *Britan* Bishops, with

604.
Bed. L. 2.
. c. 3.

many other learned men, especially from the famous Monastery of *Bangor*, in which were said to be so many Monks, living all by their own labour, that being divided under seven Rectors, none had fewer than three hundred. One man there was who staid behind, a Hermit by the life he led, who by his wisdom effected more than all the rest who went : being demanded, for they held him as an Oracle, how they might know *Austin* to be a man from God, that they might follow him, he answer'd, that if they found him meek and humble, they should be taught by him, for it was likeliest to be the yoke of Christ, both what he bore himself, and would have them bear ; but if he bore himself proudly, that they should not regard him, for he was then certainly not of God. They took his advice, and hasted to the place of meeting. Whom *Austin* being already there before them, neither arose to meet, nor receav'd in any brotherly sort, but sat all the while pontifically in his Chair. Whereat the *Britans*, as they were counsel'd by the Holy Man, neglected him, and neither harkned to his proposals of Conformity, nor would acknowledge him for an Arch-Bishop : And in name of the rest, *Dmothus* then Abbot of *Bangor*, is said, thus sagely to have answer'd him. As to the subjection which you require, be thus perfwaded of us, that in the Bond of Love and Charity we are all Subjects and Servants to the Church of God, yea to the Pope of *Rome*, and every good Christian to help them forward, both by word

Spelman.

Concil.pag.

198.

word and deed, to be the Childern of God : other obedience than this we know not to be due to him whom you term the Pope ; and this obedience we are ready to give both to him and to every Christian continually. Besides, we are govern'd under God by the Bishop of *Caerleon*, who is to oversee us in spiritual matters. To which *Austin* thus presaging, som say menacing, replies, Since ye refuse to accept of Peace with your brethren, ye shall have Warr from your enemies ; and since ye will not with us preach the Word of Life, to whom ye ought, from thir hands ye shall receive death. This, though Writers agree not whether *Austin* spake it as his prophecy, or as his plot against the *Britans*, fell out accordingly. For many years were not past, when *Ethelfrid*, whether of his own accord, or at the request of *Ethelbert* incens't by *Austin*, with a powerful Host came to *Westchester*, then *Caer-legion*. Where being met by the *British* Forces, and both sides in readines to give the onset, he discerns a company of men, not habited for Warr, standing together in a place of som safety ; and by them a Squadron arm'd. Whom having lernt upon some enquiry to be Priests and Monks, assembl'd thither after three dayes fasting, to pray for the good success of thir Forces against him, therefore they first, faith he, shall feel our Swords ; for they who pray against us, fight heaviest against us by thir prayers, and are our dangerousest enemies. And with that turns his first charge upon the Monks : *Brocmail* the Captain

Sax. An.
Huntingd.
607.

Captain set to guard them, quickly turns his back, and leaves above 1200 Monks to a sudden massacre, whereof scarce fifty scap'd, but not so easie work found Ethelfrid against another part of Britans that stood in arms, whom though at last he overthrew, yet with slaughter nigh as great to his own souldiers. To excuse Austin of this bloodshed, lest some might think it his revengeful policy, Beda writes that he was dead long before, although if the tyme of his sitting Arch-bishop be right computed sixteen years, he must survive this action. Other just ground of charging him with this imputation appears not, save what evidently we have from Geffry Monmouth, whose weight we know.

*Malmsb.
gesl. Pont.
l. I.*

Sax. An.

611.

*Sax. an.
Malmsb.*

614.

Camden.

616.

Sax. an.

The same year Kelwulf made Warr on the South-Saxons, bloody, saith Huntingdon, to both sides, but most to them of the South: and four years after dying left the Government of West-Saxons to Kinegils and Cuichelm the Sons of his Brother Keola. Others, as Florent of Worster and Mathew of Westminster, will have Cuichelm Son of Kinegils, but admitted to reign with his Father, in whose third year they are recorded with joyned Forces or conduct to have fought against the Britans in Beandune, now Bindon in Dorsetshire, and to have slain of them above two thousand. More memorable was the second year following, by the death of Ethelbert the first Christian King of Saxons, and no less a favourer of all Civility in that rude Age. He gave Laws and Statutes after the example of Roman Emperors, written with the advice of his sagest Counsellors,

Counsellors, but in the *English Tongue*, and observ'd long after. Wherein his special care was to punish those who had stoln ought from Church or Churchman, thereby shewing how gratefully he receav'd at thir hands the Christian Faith. Which, he no sooner dead, but his Son *Eadbald* took the course as fast to extinguish ; not only falling back to Heathenism, but that which Heathenism was wont to abhor, marrying his Fathers second Wife. Then soon was perceav'd what multitudes for fear or countenance of the King had profess't Christianity, returning now as eagerly to thir old Religion. Nor staid the Apostasie within one Province, but quickly spread over to the *East-Saxons* ; occasion'd there likewise, or set forward by the death of thir Christian King *Sebert* : whose three Sons, of whom two are nam'd, *Sexted* and *Seward*, neither in his life time would be brought to baptism, and after his decease re-establish'd the free exercise of Idolatry ; nor so content, they set themselves in despight to do som op'n profanation against the other Sacrament. Coming therfore into the Church, where *Mellitus* the Bishop was ministring, they requir'd him in abuse and scorn to deliver to them unbaptiz'd the Consecrated Bread ; and him refusing, drove disgracefully out of thir dominion. Who cross'd forthwith into *Kent*, where things were in the same plight, and thence into *France*, with *Fustus* Bishop of *Rochester*. But Divine vengeance deferr'd not long the punishment of men so impious ; for *Eadbald*, vexed with an evil Spirit,

Malmsb.

Spirir, fell oft'n into foul fits of distraction; and the Sons of *Sebert*, in a fight against the *West-Saxons* perish'd, with thir whole Army. But *Eadbald*, within the year, by an extraordinary means became penitent. For when *Laurence* the Arch-bishop and Successor of *Austin* was preparing to ship for *France*, after *Justus* and *Mellitus*, the Story goes, if it be worth beleeving, that Saint *Peter*, in whose Church he spent the night before in watching and praying, appear'd to him, and to make the Vision more sensible, gave him many stripes for offering to desert his flock ; at sight wher-of the King (to whom next morning he shewed the marks of what he had suffer'd, by whom and for what cause) relenting and in great fear dissolv'd his incestuous marriage, and applid himself to the Christian Faith more sincerely than before, with all his people. But the *Londoners* addicted still to Paganism, would not be perswaded to receave again *Mellitus* thir Bishop, and to compell them was not in his power. Thus much through all the South was troubl'd in Religion, as much were the North parts disquieted through Ambition. For *Ethelfrid* of *Bernicia*, as was touch't before, having thrown *Edwin* out of *Deira*, and joyn'd that Kingdome to his own, not content to have bereav'd him of his right, whose known vertues and high parts gave cause of suspicion to his Enemies, sends Messengers to demand him of *Redwald* King of *East-Angles*; under whose protection, after many years wandring obscurely through all the Iland, he had plac'd his

his safety. *Redwald*, though having promis'd all defence to *Edwin* as to his suppliant, yet tempted with continual and large offers of gold, and not contemning the puissance of *Ethelfrid*, yeilded at length, either to dispatch him, or to give him into thir hands : but earnestly exhorted by his Wife, not to betray the Faith and inviolable Law of Hospitality and refuge giv'n, preferrs his first promise as the more Religious, nor only refuses to deliver him ; but since War was therupon denounc't, determins to be beforehand with the danger ; and with a sudden Army rais'd, surprises *Ethelfrid*, little dreaming an Invasion, and in a fight neer to the East-side of the River *Idle*, on the *Mercian* border, now *Nottinghamshire*, slays him, dissipating easily those few Forces which he had got to march out over-hastily with him ; who yet as a testimony of his Fortune, not his Valour to be blam'd, slew first with his own hands, *Reiner* the Kings Son. His two Sons *Oswald*, and *Oswi*, by *Acca*, *Edwins* Sister, escap'd into *Scotland*. By this Victory, *Redwald* became so far Superiour to the other *Saxon* Kings, that *Beda* reck'ns him the next after *Ella* and *Ethelbert* ; who besides this Conquest of the North, had likewise all on the hither-side *Humber* at his obedience. He had formerly in *Kent* receav'd Baptism, but coming home and perswaded by his Wife, who still it seems, was his Chief Counsellor to good or bad alike, relaps'd into his old Religion ; yet not willing to forgoe his new, thought it not the worst way, lest perhaps he might err in either,

Malmsb. L.

1. c. 3.

camden.

Bed. L. 2.

c. 15.

625.

626.

either, for more assurance to keep them both; and in the same Temple erected one Altar to Christ, another to his Idols. But *Edwin*, as with more deliberation he undertook, and with more sincerity retain'd the Christian profession, so also in power and extent of dominion far exceeded all before him; subdueing all, saith *Beda*, English or British, eev'n to the Iles, then call'd *Mewanian*, *Anglesey*, and *Man*; setl'd in his Kingdom by *Redwald*, he sought in mariage *Edelburga*, whom others call *Tate*, the Daughter of *Ethelbert*. To whose Embassadors, *Eadbald* her Brother made answer, that to wed thir Daughter to a Pagan, was not the Christian Law. *Edwin* repli'd, that to her Religion he would be no hindrance, which with her whole Houshold she might freely exercise. And moreover, that if examin'd it were found the better, he would imbrace it. These ingenuous offers, op'ning so fair a way to the advancement of truth, are accepted, and *Paulinus* as a spiritual Guardian sent along with the Virgin. He being to that purpose made Bishop by *Justus*, omitted no occasion to plant the Gospel in those parts, but with small success, till the next year, *Ciuchelm*, at that time one of the two *West-Saxon* Kings, envious of the greatness which he saw *Edwin* growing up to, sent privily *Eumerus* a hir'd Sword-man to assassin him; who under pretence of doing a message from his Master, with a poison'd Weapon, stabs at *Edwin*, conferring with him in his House, by the River *Derwent* in *York-shire*, on an Easter-day; which

Lilla

Lilla, one of the Kings Attendants, at the instant perceaving, with a loyalty that stood not then to deliberate, abandon'd his whole body to the blow ; which notwithstanding made passage through to the Kings Person, with a wound not to be slighted. The murderer encompass'd now with Swords, and desperate, fore-revenges his own fall with the death of another, whom his Poinard reach'd home. *Paulinus* omitting no opportunity to win the King from misbeleif, obtain'd at length this promise from him ; that if Christ, whom he so magnifi'd, would give him to recover of his wound, and victory of his Enemies who had thus assaulted him, he would then become Christian, in pledge whereof he gave his young Daughter *Eanfled* to be bred up in Religion ; who with twelv others of his Family, on the day of *Pentecost* was baptiz'd. And by that time well recover'd of his wound ; to punish the Authors of so foul a fact, he went with an Army against the *West-Saxons* : whom having quell'd by War, and of such as had conspir'd against him, put som to death, others pardon'd, he return'd home victorious, and from that time worship'd no more his Idols, yet ventur'd not rashly into Baptism, but first took care to be instructed rightly, what he learnt, examining and still confidering with himself and others, whom he held wifest ; though *Boniface* the Pope, by large Letters of Exhortation, both to him and his Queen, was not wanting to quicken his beleif. But while he still deferr'd, and his deferring

ferring might seem now to have past the maturity of wisdom to a faulty lingring, *Paulinus* by Revelation, as was beleev'd, coming to the knowledge of a secret, which befell him strangely in the time of his troubles, on a certain day went in boldly to him, and laying his right hand on the head of the King, ask'd him if he rememberd what that sign meant; the King trembling, and in a maze rising up, straight fell at his Feet. Behold, saith *Paulinus*, raising him from the ground; God hath deliver'd you from your Enemies, and giv'n you the Kingdom, as you desir'd: perform now what long since you promis'd him, to receave his Doctrine which I now bring you, and the Faith, which if you accept, shall to your temporal felicity, add Eternal. The promise claim'd of him by *Paulinus*, how and wherefore made, though favouring much of Legend, is thus related. *Redwald*, as we heard before, dazl'd with the gold of *Ethelfrid*, or by his threatening over-aw'd, having promis'd to yeild up *Edwin*, one of his faithfull Companions, of which he had some few with him in the Court of *Redwald*, that never shrunk from his adversity, about the first hour of night comes in hast to his Chamber, and calling him forth for better secrecy, reveles to him his danger, offers him his aid to make escape; but that course not approv'd, as seeming dishonourable without more manifest cause to begin distrust towards one who had so long bin his only refuge, the friend departs. *Edwin* left alone without the Palace Gate, full of sadness

sadness and perplext thoughts, discerns about the dead of night, a man neither by countenance nor by habit to him known, approaching towards him. Who after salutation, ask'd him why at this howr, when all others were at rest, he alone so sadly sat waking on a cold Stone ? *Edwin* not a little misdoubting who he might be, ask'd him again, what his sitting within doors, or without, concern'd him to know ? To whom he again, Think not that who thou art, or why sitting heer, or what danger hangs over thee, is to me unknown : But what would you promise to that man, who ever would befriend you out of all these troubles, and perswade *Redwald* to the like ? All that I am able, answer'd *Edwin*. And he, What if the same man should promise to make you greater than any *English* King hath bin before you ? I should not doubt, quoth *Edwin*, to be answerably grateful. And what if to all this he would inform you, said the other, in a way to happiness, beyond what any of your Ancestors hath known ? would you hark'n to his Counsel ? *Edwin* without stopping promis'd he would. And the other laying his right hand on *Edwins* head, When this sign, faith he, shall next befall thee, remember this time of night, and this discourse, to perform what thou hast promis'd ; and with these words disappearing, left *Edwin* much reviv'd, but not less fill'd with wonder, who this unknown should be. When suddenly the friend who had bin gon all this while to list'n furder what was like to be decree'd of *Edwin*, comes back and

M

joyfully

joyfully bids him rise to his repose, for that the Kings mind, though for a while drawn aside, was now fully resolv'd not only not to betray him, but to defend him against all Enemies, as he had promis'd. This was said to be the cause why *Edwin* admonish't by the Bishop of a sign which had befalln him so strangely, and as he thought so secretly, arose to him with that reverence and amazement, as to one sent from Heav'n, to claim that promise of him which he perceav'd well was due to a Divine Power, that had assisted him in his troubles. To *Paulinus* therfore he makes answer, that the Christian Beleef he himself ought by promise, and intended to receave; but would conferr first with his Cheif Peers and Counsellers, that if they likewise could be won, all at once might be baptiz'd. They therfore being ask'd in Counsel what thir Opinion was concerning this New Doctrine, and well perceaving which way the King enclin'd, every one thereafter shap'd his reply. The Chief Priest speaking first, discover'd an old grudge he had against his Gods, for advancing others in the Kings Favour above him thir Chief Priest: another hiding his Court-compliance with a grave sentence, commended the choise of certain before uncertain, upon due examination; to like purpose answer'd all the rest of his Sages, none op'nly dissenting from what was likely to be the Kings Creed: whereas the preaching of *Paulinus* could work no such effect upon them, toiling till that time without success. Whereupon *Edwin* renouncing Heathenism,

Heathenism, became Christian: and the Pagan Priest, offering himself freely to demolish the Altars of his former Gods, made some amends for his teaching to adore them. With *Edwin*, his two Sons *Osfred* and *Eanfrid*, born to him by *Quenburga*, Daughter, as faith *Beda*, of *Kearle* King of *Mercia*, in the time of his banishment, and with them most of the People, both Nobles and Commons, easily Converted, were Baptiz'd; he with his whole Family at *York*, in a Church hastily built up of Wood, the multitude most part in Rivers. *Northumberland* thus christ'nd, *Paulinus* crossing *Humber*, converted also the Province of *Lindsey*, and *Blecca* the Governour of *Lincoln*, with his Household and most of that City; wherein he built a Church of Stone, curiously wrought, but of small continuallce; for the Roof in *Bedas* time, uncertain whether by neglect or Enemies, was down; the Walls only standing. Mean while in *Mercia*, *Kearle* a Kinsman of *Wibba*, faith *Huntingdon*, not a Son, having long withheld the Kingdom from *Penda Wibba's* Son, left it now at length to the fiftieth year of his Age: with whom *Kine-gils* and *Cuichelm*, the *West-Saxon* Kings, two year after, having by that time it seems recover'd strength, since the Inrode made upon them by *Edwin*, fought at *Cirencester*, theri made Truce. But *Edwin* seeking every way to propagate the Faith, which with so much deliberation he had receav'd, perswaded *Eorpwald* the Son of *Redwald*, King of *East-Angles*, to imbrace the same beleef; willingly or in

627.

629.
Sax. Ans.

632.

Sax. An.

Florent.
Genealog.

633.

aw, is not known, retaining under *Edwin* the name only of a King. But *Eorpwald* not long surviv'd his Conversion, slain in fight by *Ricbert* a Pagan: whereby the People having lightly follow'd the Religion of thir King, as lightly fell back to thir old superstitions for above three years after: *Edwin* in the mean while, to his Faith adding Vertue, by the due administration of Justice wrought such peace over all his Territories, that from Sea to Sea, Man or Woman might have travail'd in safety. His care also was of Fountains by the way side, to make them fittest for the use of Travellers. And not unmindful of Regal State, whether in Warr or Peace, he had a Royal Banner carried before him. But having Reign'd with much Honour seventeen years, he was at length by *Kedwalla*, or *Cadwalon*, King of the *Britans*, who with aid of the *Mercian Penda*, had rebell'd against him, slain in a Battel with his Son *O'frid*, at a place call'd *Hethfeild*, and his whole Army overthrown or disperst in the year 633, and the 47th of his Age, in the Eye of man worthy a more peacefull end. His Head brought to *York*, was there buried in the Church by him begun. Sad was this overthrow, both to Church and State of the *Northumbrians*: for *Penda* being a Heathen, and the *British King*, though in name a Christian, yet in deeds more bloody than the Pagan, nothing was omitted of barbarous cruelty in the slaughter of Sex or Age; *Kedwalla* threatening to root out the whole Nation, though then newly Christian.

For

For the *Britans*, and, as *Beda* saith, eev'n to his daies, accounted *Saxon* Christianity no better than Paganism, and with them held as little Communion. From these calamities no refuge being left but flight, *Paulinus* taking with him *Ethilburga* the Queen and her Children, aided by *Bassus*, one of *Edwins* Captains, made escape by Sea to *Eadbald* King of *Kent*: who receaving his Sister with all kindness, made *Paulinus* Bishop of *Rochester*, where he ended his days. After *Edwin*, the Kingdome of *Northumberland* became divided as before, each rightfull Heir seising his part; in *Deira* *Osric*, the Son of *Elfric*, *Edwins* Uncle, by profession a Christian, and baptiz'd by *Paulinus*; in *Bernicia*, *Eanfrid*, the Son of *Ethelfrid*; who all the time of *Edwin*, with his Brother *Oswald*, and many of the young Nobility, liv'd in *Scotland* exil'd, and had bin there taught and baptiz'd. No sooner had they gott'n each a Kingdom, but both turn'd recreant, sliding back into thir old Religion; and both were the same year slain; *Osric* by a sudden eruption of *Kedwalla*, whom he in a strong Town had unadvisedly besieg'd; *Eanfrid* seeking Peace, and inconsideratly with a few surrendring himself. *Kedwalla* now rang'd at will through both those Provinces, using cruelly his Conquest; when *Oswald* the Brother of *Eanfrid* with a small but Christian Army, unexpectedly coming on, defeated and destroy'd both him and his huge Forces, which he boasted to be invincible, by a little River running into *Tine*, neer the antient *Roman* Wall then

call'd *Denisburn*, the place afterwards *Heav'n field*, from the Cross reported miraculous for Cures, which *Oswald* there erected before the Battail, in tok'n of his Faith against the great number of his Enemies. Obtaining the Kingdom, he took care to instruct again the People in Christianity. Sending therefore to the Scottish Elders, *Beda* so terms them, among whom he had receav'd Baptism, requested of them som faithful Teacher, who might again settle Religion in his Realm, which the late troubles had impar'd; they as readily hearkning to his request, send *Aidan* a Scotch Monk and Bishop, but of singular zeal and meeknes, with others to assist him, whom at thir own desire he feated in *Lindisfarne*, as the Episcopall Seat, now *Holy Iland*: and being the Son of *Ethilfrid*, by the Sister of *Edwin*, as right Heir, others failing, easily reduc'd both Kingdoms of *Northumberland* as before into one; nor of *Edwins* Dominion lost any part, but enlarrg'd it rather; over all the fourt *British* Nations, *Angles*, *Britans*, *Picts* and *Scots*, exerciseing Regal Authority. Of his Devotion, Humility, and Almes-deeds, much is spok'n; that he disdain'd not to be the interpreter of *Aidan*, preaching in *Scotch* or bad *English*, to his Nobles and Houshold Servants; and had the poor continually serv'd at his Gate, after the promiscuous manner of those times: his meaning might be upright, but the manner more antient of privat or of Church contribution, is doubtless more Evangelical. About this time, the *West-Saxons*, antiently call'd

636.

Gewisissi, by the preaching of *Berinus*, a Bishop, whom Pope *Honorius* had sent, were converted to the Faith with *Kinegils* thir King : him *Oswald* receav'd out of the Font, and his Daughter in mariage. The next year *Cuichelm* was baptiz'd in *Dorchester*, but liv'd not to the years end. The *East-Angles* also this year were reclaim'd to the Faith of Christ, which for som years past they had thrown off. But *Sigbert* the Brother of *Eorpwald* now succeeded in that Kingdom, prais'd for a most Christian and Learned Man : who while his Brother yet Reign'd, living in *France* an exile, for some displeasure conceav'd against him by *Redwald* his Father, lern'd there the Christian Faith ; and reigning soon after, in the same instructed his People, by the preaching of *Felix a Burundian* Bishop. In the year 640 *Eadbald* deceasing, left to *Ercombert* his Son by *Emma* the French Kings Daughter, the Kingdom of *Kent* ; Recorded the first of *English* Kings, who commanded through his limits the destroying of Idols ; laudably, if all Idols without exception ; and the first to have establisht *Lent* among us, under strict penalty, not worth rememb'reing, but only to inform us, that no *Lent* was observ'd heer till his time by compulsion : especially being noted by som to have fraudu-lently usurp'd upon his Elder Brother *Ermenred*, whose right was precedent to the Crown, *Oswald* having Reign'd eight years, worthy also as might seem of longer life, fell into the same fate with *Edwin*, and from the same hand, in a great Battel overcom and slain by

640.

Mat. Wifm.

642.

*Sden.**Bed. L. 3.
c. 14.**643.
Sax. An.**645.
Sax. An.*

Penda, at a place call'd *Maserfield*, now *Oswestre*, in *Shropshire*, miraculous, as faith *Beda*, after his Death. His Brother *Oswi* succeeded him; reigning, though in much trouble, twenty eight years; oppos'd either by *Penda*, or his own Son *Alfred*, or his Brothers Son *Ethikwald*. Next year *Kinegils* the *West-Saxon* dying, left his Son *Kenwalk* in his stead, though as yet unconverted. About this time *Sigebert*, King of *East-Angles*, having lernt in *France*, e're his coming to Reign, the manner of thir Schools, with the assistance of som Teachers out of *Kent*, instituted a School heer after the same Discipline, thought to be the University of *Cambridge* then first Founded: and at length weary of his Kingly Office, betook him to a Monastical Life; commending the care of Government to his Kinsman *Egric*, who had sustain'd with him part of that burden before. It happen'd som years after, that *Penda* made Warr on the *East-Angles*: they expecting a sharp encounter, besought *Sigebert*, whom they esteem'd an expert Leader, with his presence to confirm the Souldiery: and him refusing carried by force out of the Monastery into the Camp; where acting the Monk rather than the Captain, with a single wand in his hand, he was slain with *Egric*, and his whole Army put to flight. *Anna* of the Royal Stock, as next in right, succeeded; and hath the praise of a vertuous and most Christian Prince. But *Kenwalk* the *West-Saxon* having maried the Sister of *Penda*, and divorc't her, was by him with more appearance of a just cause

cause vanquisht in fight, and depriv'd of his Crown : whence retiring to *Anna* King of the *East-Angles*, after three years abode in his Court, he there became Christian, and afterwards regain'd his Kingdom. *Oswi* in the former years of his Reign, had sharer with him, *Oswin* Nephew of *Edwin*, who rul'd in *Deira* seven years, commended much for his zeal in Religion, and for comeliness of person, with other princely qualities, belov'd of all. Notwithstanding which, dissentions growing between them, it came to Arms. *Oswin* seeing himself much exceeded in numbers, thought it more prudence, dismissing his Army, to re-serve himself for some better occasion. But committing his person with one faithful attendant to the Loyalty of *Hunwald* an Earl, his imagin'd friend, he was by him treacherously discover'd, and by command of *Oswi* slain. After whom within twelv days, and for *Bede.*

648.

651.

Beda. L. 3.

c. 7.

652.

grief of him whose death he foretold, dy'd Bishop *Aidan*, famous for his Charity, Meekness, and labour in the Gospel. The fact of *Oswi* was detestable to all ; which therefore to expiate, a Monastery was built in the place where it was don, and Prayers there daily offer'd up for the Souls of both Kings, the slain and the slayer. *Kenwalk* by this time reinstall'd in his Kingdom, kept it long, but with various Fortune ; for *Beda* relates him oft-times afflicted by his Enemies with great losses : and in 652 by the Annals, fought a Battel (Civil War *Ethelwerd* calls it) at *Bradanford* by the River *Afene* ; against whom, and for what cause,

cause, or who had the Victory, they write not. *Camden* names the place *Bradford* in *Wiltshire*, by the *River Avon*, and *Cuthred* his neer Kinsman, against whom he fought, but cites no Authority; certain it is, that *Kenwulf* four years before had giv'n large possessions to his Nephew *Cuthred*, the more unlikely therefore now to have rebell'd. The next year *Penda*, whom his Father *Penda*, though a Heathen, had for his Princely Vertues made Prince of *Middle-Angles*, belonging to the *Mercians*, was with that people converted to the Faith. For coming to *Oswi* with request to have in marriage *Alfeda* his Daughter, he was deni'd her but on condition, that he with all his People should receave Christianity. Hearing therefore not unwillingly what was preach't to him of Resurrection and Eternal Life, much persuaded also by *Alfrid* the Kings Son, who had his Sister *Kyniburg* to Wife, he easily assented, for the truths sake only as he profess'd, whether he obtain'd the Virgin or no, and was baptiz'd with all his followers. Returning, he took with him four Presbyters to teach the people of his Province; who by their daily preaching won many. Neither did *Penda*, though himself no Beleever, prohibit any in his Kingdom to hear or beleeve the Gospel, but rather hated and despis'd those, who professing to beleeve, atested not thir Faith by good works; condemning them for miserable and justly to be despis'd, who obey not that God in whom they choose to beleeve. How well might *Penda* this Heathen rise up in judgment

654.
Sax. An.

ment against many pretending Christians, both of his own and these daies ! yet being a man bred up to War (as no les were others then reigning, and oft-times one against another, though both Christians) he warr'd on *Anna*, King of the *East-Angles*, perhaps without cause, for *Anna* was esteem'd a just man, and at length slew him. About this time the *East-Saxons*, who as above hath bin said, had expell'd thir Bishop *Mellitus*, and renounc'd the Faith, were by the means of *Oswi* thus reconverted. *Sigebert* furnam'd the *Small*, being the Son of *Seward*, without other memory of his Reign, left his Son King of that Province, after him *Sigebert* the Second, who coming oft'n to visit *Oswi* his great friend, was by him at several times fervently dissuaded from Idolatry, and convinc't at length to forsake it, was there baptiz'd ; on his return home taking with him *Kedda* a laborious Preacher, afterwards made Bishop ; by whose teaching with some help of others, the people were again recover'd from misbeleef. But *Sigebert* some years after, though standing fast in Religion, was by the Conspiracy of two Brethren in place neer about him, wickedly murder'd ; who being ask'd what mov'd them to do a deed so hainous, gave no other than this barbarous answer ; that they were angry with him for being so gentle to his Enemies, as to forgive them thir injuries whenever they besought him. Yet his death seems to have happen'd not without some cause by him giv'n of Divine displeasure. For one of those Earls

who

who slew him, living in unlawfull wedlock, and therfore excommunicated so severely by the Bishop, that no man might presume to enter into his House, much less to sit at meat with him, the King not regarding this Church censure, went to feast with him at his invitation. Whom the Bishop meeting in his return, though penitent for what he had don, and fald at his feet, touch'd with the rod in his hand, and angerly thus foretold : Because thou hast neglected to abstain from the House of that Excommunicate, in that House thou shalt die; and so it fell out, perhaps from that prediction, God bearing witness to his Minister in the power of Church Discipline, spiritually executed, not juridically on the contemner therof. This year 655 prov'd fortunate to *Oswi*, and fatal to *Penda*, for *Oswi* by the continual inrodes of *Penda*, having long endur'd much devestation, to the endangering once by assault and fire *Bebbanburg*, his strongest City, now *Bamborrow Castle*, unable to resist him, with many rich presents offerd to buy his Peace. Which not accepted by the Pagan, who intended nothing but destruction to that King, though more than once in affinity with him, turning guifts into vows, he implores Divine Assistance, devoting, if he were deliverd from his Enemy, a Child of one year old, his Daughter to be a Nun, and twelv portions of land whereon to build Monasteries. His vows, as may be thought, found better success than his profferd guifts; for heerupon with his Son *Alfrid*, gathering a small power,

he

*Bed. L. 3.
c. 16.
Camd.*

he encounterd and discomfited the *Mercians*, camden. thirty times exceeding his in number, and led on by expert Captains : at a place call'd *Loydes*, now *Leeds* in *York-shire*. Besides this *Ethelwald*, the Son of *Oswald*, who Rul'd in *Deira*, took part with the *Mercians*, but in the fight withdrew his Forces, and in a safe place expected the event : with which unseasonable retreat, the *Mercians* perhaps terrifi'd and mis-doubting more danger, fled ; thir Commanders, with *Penda* himself, most being slain, among whom *Edelhere* the Brother of *Anna*, who rul'd after him the *East-Angles*, and was the Author of this War ; many more flying were drown'd in the River, which *Beda* calls *Winwed*, then swoln above his Banks. The *Mat. Wif.*
 death of *Penda*, who had bin the death of so many good Kings, made general rejoicing, as the Song witness'd. At the River *Winwed*, *Anna* was aveng'd. To *Edelhere* succeeded *Ethelwald* his Brother, in the *East-Angles*; to *Sigebert* in the *East-Saxons*, *Suidhelm* the Son of *Sexbald*, saith *Bede*, the Brother of *Sigebert*, Bed. L. 3. *Malmsbury*; he was baptiz'd by *Kedda*, c. 22. then residing in the *East-Angles*, and by *Ethelwald* the King, receav'd out of the Font. But *Oswi* in the strength of his late Victory, within three years after subdu'd all *Mercia*, and of *Sax. An.* the *Pictish* Nation greatest part, at which time he gave to *Peada* his Son in Law the Kingdom of *South-Mercia*, divided from the Northern by *Trent*. But *Peada* the Spring following, as was said, by the Treason of his Wife the Daughter of *Oswi*, married by him for a special

658.
*Sax. An.*659.
Sax. An.

cial Christian, on the Feast of *Easter*, not protected by the holy time, was slain. The *Mer-
cian Nobles, Immin, Eaba, and Eadbert*, throw-
ing off the Government of *Oswi*, set up *Wul-
fer* the other Son of *Penda* to be thir King,
whom till then they had kept hid, and with
him adhered to the Christian Faith. *Kenwak*
the *West-Saxon*, now settl'd at home, and de-
sirous to enlarge his Dominion, prepares a-
gainst the *Britans*, joins Battel with them at
Pen in Somersetshire, and overcoming perseues
them to *Pedridan*. Another fight he had with
them before, at a place call'd *Witgeornesburg*,
barely mention'd by the Monk of *Malmsbury*.

661.

Sax. An.

Nor was it long e're he fell at variance with
Wulfer the Son of *Penda*, his old Enemy, scarce
yet warm in his Throne, fought with him at
Possentesburg, on the *Easter* Holy-days, and as
Ethelwerd faith, took him Prisner; but the

- *Saxon Annals*, quite otherwise, that *Wulfer*
winning the field, wasted the *West-Saxon*
Country as far as *Eskesdun*; nor staying there,
took and wasted the Ile of *Wight*, but causing
the Inhabitants to be baptiz'd, till then un-
believers, gave the Iland to *Ethelwald* King of
South-Saxons, whom he had receav'd out of
the Font. The year 664 a Synod of *Scots*
and *English* Bishops, in the presence of *Oswi*
and *Alfred* his Son, was held at a Monastery
in those parts, to debate on what Day *Easter*
should be kept; a Controversie which long
before had disturb'd the *Greek* and *Latv*
Churches: wherein the *Scots* not agreeing
with the way of *Rome*, nor yeilding to the
Disputants

664.

Bide.

Disputants on that side, to whom the King most enclin'd, such as were Bishops heer, resign'd, and return'd home with thir Disciples. Another clerical question was there also much controverted, not so superstitious in my opinion as ridiculous, about the right shaving of Crowns. The same year was seen an Eclips of the Sun in *May*, followed by a sore Pestilence beginning in the South, but spreading to the North, and over all *Ireland* with great mortality. In which time the *East-Saxons* after *Malmesb.* *Swithelms* decease, being govern'd by *Siger* the Son of *Sigebert* the *Small*, and *Sebbi* of *Seward*, though both subject to the *Mercians*. *Siger* and his People unstedie of Faith, supposing that this Plague was come upon them for renouncing thir old Religion, fell off the second time to Infidelity. Which the *Mercian* King *Wulfer* understanding, sent *Jerumannus* a faithfull Bishop, who with other his fellow Laboures, by found Doctrin and gentle dealing, soon recur'd them of thir second relaps. In Kent, *Ercombert* expiring, was succeeded by his Son *Ecbert*. In whose fourt year, by means of *Theodore*, a learned *Greekish* Monk of *Tarsius*, whom Pope *Vitalian* had Ordain'd Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongue, with other Liberal Arts, Arithmetic, Music, Astronomie, and the like; began first to flourish among the *Saxons*; as did also the whole Land, under Potent and Religious Kings, more than ever before, as *Bede* affirms, till his own days. Two years after, 670. in *Northumberland* dy'd *Oswi*, much addicted *Sax. Ann.*

to

to *Romish* Rites, and resolv'd, had his Disease releas'd him, to have ended his days at *Rome*;

673.
Sax. Ann.

Ecfred the eldest of his Sons begot in Wedlock, succeeded him. After other three years, *Ecbert* in *Kent* deceasing, left nothing memorable behind him, but the general suspicion to have slain or conniv'd at the slaughter of his

Malmsb.

Uncles two Sons, *Elbert*, and *Egelbright*. In recompence wherof, he gave to the Mother of them part of *Tanet*, wherein to build an Abbey; the Kingdom fell to his Brother *Lo-thair*. And much about this time, by best account it should be, however plac'd in *Beda*,

674.
Bed. L. 4.
c. 12.

that *Ecfred* of *Northumberland*, having Warr with the *Mercian Wulfer*, won from him *Lindsey*, and the Country thereabout. *Sebbi* having Reign'd over the *East-Saxons* thirty years, not long before his death, though long before desiring, took on him the Habit of a Monk; and drew his Wife at length, though unwilling, to the same Devotion. *Kenwalk* also dying, left the Government to *Sexburga* his Wife, who out-liv'd him in it but one year, driv'n out, saith *Mat. West.* by the Nobles,

674.

disdaining Female Government. After whom several petty Kings, as *Beda* calls them, for

674.
Bed. L. 4.
c. 12.

ten years space divided the *West-Saxons*; others name two, *Escwin* the Nephew of *Kim-gils*, and *Kentwin* the Son, not petty by thir

Sax. Ann.
Malmsb.

675.

deeds: for *Escwin* fought a Battel with *Wulfer*, at *Bedanhafde*, and about a year after both deceas'd; but *Wulfer* not without a stain left behind him, of selling the Bishoprick of *London*, to *Wini* the first *Simonist* we read of in this Sto-

ry;

ry; *Kenwalek* had before expell'd him from his Chair at *Winchester*; *Ethelred* the Brother of *Wulfer* obtaining next the Kingdom of *Mercia*, not only recoverd *Lindsey*, and what besides in those parts *Wulfer* had lost to *Ecfred* some years before, but found himself strong anough to extend his Arms another way, as far as *Kent*, wasting that Country without respect to Church or Monastery, much also damaging the City of *Rochester*: Notwithstanding what resistance *Lothair* could make against him. In *August* 678 was seen a Morning Comet for three Months following, in manner of a fiery Pillar. And the *South-Saxons* about this time were Converted to the Christian Faith, upon this occasion. *Wilfrid* Bishop of the *Northumbrians* entring into contention with *Ecfred* the King, was by him depriv'd of his Bishoprick, and long wandring up and down as far as *Rome*, return'd at length into *England*, but not dareing to approach the North, whence he was banish'd, bethought him where he might to best purpose elsewhere exercise his Ministry. The South of all other *Saxons* remain'd yet Heathen; but *Edelwalek* thir King not long before had bin baptiz'd in *Mercia*, persuaded by *Wulfer*, and by him, as hath bin said, receav'd out of the Font. For which Relations sake he had the Ile of *Wight*, and a Province of the *Meannari* adjoining, giv'n him on the Continent about *Meanesborow* in *Hantshire*, which *Wulfer* had a little before gott'n from *Kenwalek*. Thether *Wilfrid* takes his journey, and with the help of other

Bed. L. 4.

c. 12.

678.

679.

Bed. L. 4.

c. 13.

Camden.

Spiritual Labourers about him, in short time planted there the Gospel. It had not rain'd, as is said, of three years before in that Country, whence many of the people daily perish'd by Famin; till on the first day of thir public Baptism, soft and plentifull showers descending, restor'd all abundance to the Summer following.

681.
Sax. Ann.

683.
Sax. an.

Bid. L. 4.
c. 15.

Malmbs.

684.

Bid. L. 4.
c. 16.

Two years after this, *Kentwin* the other *West-Saxon* King above-nam'd, chac'd the *Welch-Britans*, as is Chronicl'd without circumstance, to the very Sea shoar.

But in the year, by *Beda's* reck'ning, 683, *Kedwalla* a *West-Saxon* of the Royal Line (whom the *Welch* will have to be *Cadwallader*, last King of the *Britans*) thrown out by faction, return'd from banishment, and invaded both *Kentwin*, if then living, or whoever else had divided the suc-

cession of *Kenwak*, slaying in fight *Edelwalk* the *South-Saxon*, who oppos'd him in thir aid; but soon after was repuls'd by two of his Captains, *Bertune*, and *Andune*, who for a while held the Province in thir power.

But *Kedwalla* gathering new Force, with the slaughter of *Bertune*, and also of *Edric* the successor of *Edelwalk*, won the Kingdom : But reduc'd the People to heavy thraldome. Then addressing to Conquer the Ile of *Wight*, till that time *Pagan*, faith *Beda* (others otherwise, as above hath bin related) made a vow, though himself yet unbaptiz'd, to devote the fowrth part of that Iland, and the spoils thereof, to holy uses. Conquest obtain'd, paying his vow as then was the beleef, he gave his fowrth to Bishop *Wilfrid*, by chance there present ; and he

to

to *Bertwin* a Priest, his Sisters Son, with commission to baptise all the vanquisht, who meant to save thir lives. But the two young Sons of *Arwald*, King of that Iland, met with much more hostility ; for they at the Enemies approach flying out of the Ile , and betray'd where they were hid not far from thence, were led to *Kedwalla*, who lay then under Cure of some wounds receav'd, and by his appointment, after instruction and Baptism first giv'n them, harshly put to death, which the Youths are said above thir Age to have Christianly sufferd. In *Kent*, *Lothair* dy'd this year of his wounds receav'd in fight again the *South-Saxons*, led on by *Edric*, who descending from *Ermenred*, it seems challeng'd the Crown; and wore it, though not commendably, one year and a half : but coming to a violent Death, left the Land expos'd a prey either to home-
685.
Malmsb.

bred Usurpers, or neighbouring Invaders. Among whom *Kedwalla*, taking advantage from thir Civil Distempers , and marching easily through the *South-Saxons*, whom he had subdued, sorely harrass'd the Country, untouched of a long time by any hostile incursion. But the *Kentish* men, all parties uniteing against a Common Enemy, with joint power so oppos'd him, that he was constrained to retire back ; his Brother *Mollo* in the fight with twelv men of his Company , seeking shelter in a House, was beset and therin burnt by the perfuers : *Kedwalla* much troubl'd at so great a losf, recalling and soon rallying his disorderd Forces, return'd fiercely upon the chaseng Enemy;

Sax. An.
Malmsb.

686.

687.

Bede.

nor could be got out of the Province, till both by Fire and Sword, he had aveng'd the Death of his Brother. At length *Victred* the Son of *Ecbert*, attaining the Kingdom, both settl'd at home all things in peace, and secur'd his Borders from all outward Hostility. While thus *Kedwalla* disquieted both West and East, after his winning the Crown, *Ecfrid* the *Northumbrian*, and *Ethelred* the *Mercian*, fought a sore Battel by the River *Trent*; wherin *Elfwin* Brother to *Ecfrid*, a Youth of eighteen years, much belov'd, was slain; and the accident likely to occasion much more shedding of blood, Peace was happily made by the grave exhortation of Arch-bishop *Theodore*, a pecuniary fine only paid to *Ecfrid*, as som satisfaction for the loss of his Brothers life. Another adversity befell *Ecfrid* in his Family, by means of *Ethildrith* his Wife, King *Anna*'s Daughter, who having tak'n him for hir Husband, and professing to love him above all other men, persisted twelv years in the obstinat refusal of his bed, therby thinking to live the purer life. So perversly then was chastity instructed against the Apostles Rule. At length obtaining of him with much importunity her departure, she veild her self a Nun, then made Abbess of *Ely*, dy'd seven years after the Pestilence; and might with better warrant have kept faithfully her undertak'n Wedlock, though now canoniz'd St. *Audrey of Ely*. In the mean while *Ecfrid* had sent *Bertus* with a Power to subdue *Ireland*, a harmless Nation, saith *Beda*, and ever friendly to the *English*; in

in both which they seem to have left a Posterity much unlike them at this day : miserably wasted, without regard had to places hallow'd or profane, they betook them partly to thir Weapons, partly to implore Divine Aid ; and, as was thought, obtain'd it in thir full avengement upon *Ecfred*. For he the next year, against the mind and perswasion of his sagest freinds, and especially of *Cudbert* a famous Bishop of that Age, marching unadvisedly against the *Picts*, who long before had bin subject to *Northumberland*, was by them feigning flight, drawn unawares into narrow streights overtopt with Hills, and cut off with most of his Army. From which time, saith *Bede*, military valour began among the *Saxons* to decay, nor only the *Picts* till then peaceable, but some part of the *Britans* also recover'd by Arms thir Liberty for many years after. Yet *Aldfrid* elder, but base Brother to *Ecfred*, a man said to be learned in the Scriptures, recall'd from *Ireland*, to which place in his Brothers Reign he had retir'd, and now succeeding, upheld with much honour, though in narrower bounds, the residue of his Kindome. *Kedwalla* having now with great disturbance of his Neighbours Reign'd over the *West-Saxons* two years, besides what time he spent in gaining it, wearied perhaps with his own turbulence, went to *Rome*, desirous there to receave Baptism, which till then his worldly affairs had deferr'd, and accordingly, on *Easter Day, 689*, he was baptiz'd by *Sergius* the Pope, and his name chang'd to *Peter*. All

689.

Malm.Sax.
ian. Ethel-
werd.

694.

which notwithstanding, surpris'd with a Disease, he outliv'd not the Ceremony so far sought, much above the space of five weeks, in the thirtieth year of his Age, and in the Church of St. Peter was there buried, with a large Epitaph upon his Tomb. Him succeeded *Ina* of the Royal Family, and from the time of his coming in, for many years oppress'd the Land with like greevances, as *Kedwalla* had done before him, insomuch that in those times there was no Bishop among them. His first Expedition was into *Kent*, to demand satisfaction for the burning of *Mollo*: *Victred* loth to hazard all for the rash act of a few, deliver'd up thirty of those that could be found accessory, or as others say, pacifi'd *Ina* with a great sum of money. Mean while, at the incitement of *Ecbert*, a devout Monk, *Wilbrod* a Priest eminent for Learning, past over Sea, having twelv others in Company, with intent to preach the Gospel in *Germany*. And coming to *Pepin* Cheif Regent of the *Franks*, who a little before had conquer'd the hither *Frisia*, by his countnance and protection, promise also of many benefits to them who should believe, they found the work of Conversion much the easier, and *Wilbrod* the first Bishopric in that Nation. But two Priests, each of them *Hewald* by name, and for distinction surnam'd from the colour of thir Hair, the Black and the White, by his example, piously affected to the Souls of thir Country-men the old *Saxons*, at thir coming thereto convert them met with much worse entertainment.

For

For in the House of a Farmer who had promis'd to convey them, as they desir'd, to the Governour of that Country, discoverd by thir daily Ceremonies to be Christian Priests, and the cause of thir coming suspected, they were by him and his Heathen Neighbours cruelly butcherd ; yet not unaveng'd, for the Governour enrag'd at such violence offerd to his Strangers, sending armed Men, slew all those Inhabitants, and burnt thir Village. After three years in *Mercia*, *Ostrid* the Queen, Wife to *Ethelred*, was kill'd by her own Nobles, as *Beda's Epitome Records* ; *Florence* calls them *Southimbrians*, negligently omitting the cause of so strange a fact. And the year following, *Bertred* a *Northumbrian* General was slain by the *Picts*. *Ethelred* seven years after the violent Death of his Queen, put on the Monk, and resign'd his Kingdom to *Kenred* the Son of *Wulfer* his Brother. The next year, *Aldfrid* in *Northumberland* dy'd, leaving *Osred* a Child of eight years to succeed him. Fowr years after which, *Kenred* having a while with praise govern'd the *Mercian* Kingdom, went to *Rome* in the time of Pope *Constantine*, and shorn a Monk spent there the residue of his daies. *Kelred* succeeded him, the Son of *Ethelred*, who had reign'd the next before. With *Kenred* went *Offa* the Son of *Siger*, King of *East-Saxons*, and betook him to the same habit, leaving his Wife and Native Country ; a comely Person in the prime of his Youth, much desir'd of the People ; and such his Vertue by report, as might have otherwise bin worthy to have

697.

698.

704.

705.

709.

710. *Sax. An.*
Hunting.
711. *Bede Epit.*
715. *Sax. An.*
Sax. an.
Hunting.
- 716.
- 718.
- L. 5. c. 9.
- 725.
- 728.
- Reign'd. *Ina* the West-Saxon one year after fought a Battel, at first doubtfull, at last successfull, against *Gerent* King of *Wales*. The next year *Bertfrid*, another Northumbrian Captain, fought with the *Picts*, and slaughter'd them, saith *Huntingdon*, to the full avenge-ment of *Ecfrid's* Death. The fowrth year af-ter, *Ina* had another doubtfull and cruell Bat-tel at *Wodnesburg* in *Wiltshire*, with *Kelred* the *Mercian*, who dy'd the year following a lamentable death: for as he sat one day feasting with his Nobles, suddenly possess'd with an Evil Spirit, he expir'd in despair, as *Boni-face* Arch-bishop of *Ments*, an English man, who taxes him for a defiler of Nuns, writes by way of caution to *Ethelbald*, his next of Kin, who succeeded him. *Osred* also the young Nor-thumbrian King, slain by his Kindred in the eleventh of his Reign, for his vicious life and incest committed with Nuns; was by *Kenred* succeeded and aveng'd. He reigning two years left *Osric* in his room. In whose seventh year, if *Beda* calculate right, *Victred* King of *Kent* deceas'd, having reign'd thirty four years, and some part of them with *Suebhard*, as *Beda* testifies. He left behind him three Sons, *Ethel-bert*, *Eadbert*, and *Alic* his Heirs. Three years after which, appear'd two Comets about the Sun, terrible to behold, the one before him in the Morning, the other after him in the Evening, for the space of two weeks in *January*, bending thir blaze toward the North, at which time the *Saracens* furiously invaded *France*, but were expell'd soon after with great over-throw.

throw. The same year in *Northumberland*, *Ofric* dying or slain, adopted *Kelwulf* the Brother of *Kenre*, his Successor, to whom *Beda de c. 24.* *Bede. L. 5.* indicates his story; but writes this only of him, that the beginning, and the process of his Reign met with many adverse commotions, whereof the event was then doubtfully expected. Mean while *Ina* seven years before, having slain *Kenwulf*, to whom *Florent* gives the addition of *Clito*, giv'n usually to none but of the Blood Royal, and the fourth year after overthrown and slain *Albright* another *Clito*, driv'n from *Taunton* to the *South-Saxons* for aid, vanquish't also the *East-Angles* in more than one Battel, as *Malmsbury* writes, but not the year, whether to expiate so much blood, or infected with the contagious humour of those times, *Malmsbury* saith, at the persuasion of *Ethelburga* his Wife, went to *Rome*, and there ended his days; yet this praise left behind him, to have made good Laws, the first of *Saxon* that remain extant to this day, and to his Kinsman *Edelard*, bequeath'd the Crown; No less than the whole Monarchy of *England* and *Wales*. For *Ina*, if we beleeve a digression in the Laws of *Edward Confessor*, was the first King Crown'd of *English* and *British*, since the *Saxons* entrance; of the *British* by means of his second Wife, some way related to *Cadwallader* last King of *Wales*, which I had not noted being unlikely, but for the place where I found it. After *Ina*, by a surer Author, & *Bede.* *731.* the *Æthelbald* King of *Mercia* commanded all the Provinces on this side *Humber*, with thir Kings:

the

the *Picts* were in League with the *English*, the *Scots* peaceable within thir bounds, and the *Britans* part were in thir own Government, part subject to the *English*. In which peacefull state of the Land, many in *Northumberland*, both Nobles and Commons, laying aside the exercise of Arms, betook them to the Cloister : and not content so to do at home, many in the dayes of *Ina*, Clerks and Laics, Men and Women, hasting to *Rome* in Herds, thought themselves no where sure of Eternal Life, till they were Cloisterd there. Thus representing the state of things in this Iland, *Beda* surceas'd to write. Out of whom cheifly hath bin gatherd, since the *Saxons* arrival, such as hath bin deliverd, a scattered story pickt out here and there, with some trouble and tedious work from among his many Legends of Visions and Miracles ; toward the latter end so bare of Civil matters, as what can be thence collected may seem a Calendar rather than a History, tak'n up for the most part with succession of Kings, and computation of years, yet those hard to be reconcil'd with the *Saxon Annals*. Thir actions we read of, were most commonly Wars, but for what cause wag'd, or by what Counsell carried on, no care was had to let us know: wherby thir strength and violence we understand, of thir wisdom, reason, or justice little or nothing, the rest superstitution and monastical affectation; Kings one after another leaving thir Kingly Charge, to run thir heads fondly into a Monks Cowle: which leaves us uncertain, whether *Beda* was wanting

wanting to his matter, or his matter to him. Yet from hence to the *Danish Invasion* it will be worse with us, destitute of *Beda*. Left only to obscure and blockish *Chronicles*; whom *Malmsbury*, and *Huntingdon*, (for neither they than we had better Authors of those times) ambitious to adorn the History, make no scruple oft-times, I doubt, to interline with conjectures and surmises of thir own : them rather than imitate, I shall choose to represent the truth naked, though as lean as a plain Journal. Yet *William of Malmsbury* must be acknowledg'd, both for stile and judgement, to be by far the best Writer of them all : but what labour is to be endur'd, turning over Volumes of Rubbish in the rest, *Florence of Worcester*, *Huntingdon*, *Simeon of Durham*, *Hoveden*, *Mathew of Westminster*, and many others of obscurer note, with all thir Monachisms, is a penance to think. Yet these are our only Registers, transcribers one after another for the most part, and somtimes worthy enough for the things they Register. This travail rather than not know at once what may be known of our Ancient Story, sifted from Fables and Impertinences, I voluntarily undergo; and to save others, if they please, the like unpleasing labour ; except those who take pleasure to be all thir life time, rakeing in the Foundations of old Abbies and Cathedrals : But to my Task now as it befalls. In the year 733, on the 18th Kalends of *September*, was an Eclipse of the Sun about the third howr of day, obscureing almost his whole Orb, as with a black

733.

Sax. An.

Ethelwred.

735.

738.

Malmst.

740.

741.
Malmst.

Sax. Ann.

743.
Sax. Dun.

a black sheild. *Ethelbald of Mercia*, besieg'd and took the Castle or Town of *Somerton*: and two years after, *Beda our Historian* dy'd, som say the year before. *Kelwulf* in *Northumberland* three years after became Monk in *Lindisfarne*, yet none of the severest, for he brought those Monks from Milk and Water, to Wine and Ale; in which Doctrine no doubt but they were soon docil, and well might, for *Kelwulf* brought with him good provision, great treasure and revenues of Land, recited by *Si-meon*, yet all under pretense of following (I use the Authors words) poor *Christ*, by voluntary poverty: no marvel then if such applause were giv'n by Monkish Writers to Kings turning Monks, and much cunning perhaps us'd to allure them. To *Eadbert* his Uncle's Son he left the Kingdome, whose Brother *Ecbert*, Arch-bishop of *York* built a Library there. But two years after, while *Eadbert* was busied in War against the *Picts*, *Ethelbald the Mercian*, by foul fraud, assaulted part of *Northumberland* in his absence, as the supplement of *Beda's Epitomy* records. In the *West-Saxons*, *Edelard* who succeeded *Ina*, having bin much molested in the beginning of his Reign, with the Rebellion of *Oswald* his Kinsman, who contended with him for the right of succession, overcoming at last those Troubles, dy'd in Peace 741, leaving *Cuthred* one of the same Linage to succeed him: who at first had much War with *Ethelbald the Mercian*, and various success, but joyning with him in League two years after, made War on the *Welch*: *Huntingdon*

tingdondoubts not to give them a great Victo-
ry. And Simeon reports, another Battel fought
between Britans and Picts the year ensueing. 744.
Now was the Kingdom of East-Saxons draw-
ing to a period, for Sigward and Senfred the
Sons of Sebbi having reign'd a while, and af-
ter them young Offa, who soon quitted his
Kingdom to go to Rome with Kenred, as hath
bin said, the Government was conferr'd on
Selred Son of Sigebert the good, who having
Rul'd thirty eight years, came to a violent
death; how or wherefore, is not set down. 746.
After whom Swithred was the last King, dri-
ven out by Ecbert the West-Saxon: but Lon-
don, with the Countries adjacent, obey'd the
Mercians till they also were dissolv'd. Cuth-
red had now reign'd about nine years, when
Kinnic his Son a valiant young Prince, was in a 748.
military tumult slain by his own Souldiers.
The same year Eadbert dying in Kent, his Bro-
ther Edilbert reign'd in his stead. But after
two years, the other Eadbert in Northumber-
land, whose War with the Picts hath bin a-
bove-mention'd, made now such Progress
there, as to subdue Kyle, so saith the Auctarie
of Bede, and other Countries thereabout, to
his dominion; while Cuthred the West-Saxon
had a fight with Ethelhun, one of his Nobles,
a stout Warrier, envi'd by him in some mat-
ter of the Common-wealth, as far as by the
Latin of Ethelwerd can be understood (others Hunting.
interpret it Sedition) and with much adoe o-
vercoming, took Ethelhun for his valour into 750.
favour, by whom faithfully serv'd in the twelf
camden.

or

or thirteenth of his Reign, he encounter'd in
a set Battel with *Ethelbald* the Mercian at *Be-
orford*, now *Burford* in *Oxfordshire*; one year
after against the *Welch*, which was the last
but one of his life. *Huntingdon*, as his man-
ner is to comment upon the annal Text, makes
a terrible description of that fight between
Cuthred and *Ethelbald*, and the Prowess of *E-
thelhun*, at *Beorford*, but so affectedly, and
therfore suspiciously, that I hold it not worth
rehearsal; and both in that and the latter con-
flict, gives Victory to *Cuthred*; after whom
Sigebert, uncertain by what right, his Kin-
man, saith *Florent*, step'd into the Throne,
whom hated for his cruelty and other evil do-
ings, *Kimwulf* joining with most of the Nobil-
ity, dispossess'd of all but *Hampshire*, that Pro-
vince he lost also within a year, together with
the love of all those who till then remain'd
his adherents, by slaying *Cumbran*, one of his
Chief Captains, who for a long time had faith-
fully serv'd, and now dissuaded him from in-
censing the People by such Tyrannical pra-
ctices. Thence flying for safety into *Andreds*
Wood, forsak'n of all, he was at length slain
by the Swineheard of *Cumbran* in revenge of
his Maister, and *Kimwulf* who had undoubted
right to the Crown, joyfully saluted King.
The next year *Eadbert* the *Northumbrian* join-
ing forces with *Unust* King of the *Picts*, as *Si-
meon* writes, besieg'd and took by surrend-
er the City *Alcluith*, now *Dunbritton* in *Lennox*,
from the *Britans* of *Cumberland*; and ten days
after, the whole Army perished about *Niwan-
birig*,

*Sax. Ann.*754.
Malmsb.

755.

Hunting.
*Hunting.*756.
Camden.

brig, but to tell us how, he forgetts. In Mer-
cian, Ethelbald was slain, at a place call'd Secan-
dune, now Seckinton in Warwick-shire, the year 757.
following, in a bloody fight against Cuthred,
as Huntingdon surmises, but Cuthred was dead *Sax. Ann.*
two or three years before; others write him *Epit. Bed.*
murder'd in the night by his own Guard, and
the Treason, as som say, of Beornred, who suc-
ceeded him; but ere many Months, was de-
feated and slain by Offa. Yet Ethelbald seems
not without cause, after a long and pros-
perous Reign, to have fall'n by a violent death;
not shameing on the vain confidence of his
many Alms, to commit uncleanness with con-
secrated Nuns, besides Laic Adulteries, as the
Arch-bishop of *Mews* in a letter taxes him and
his Predecessor, and that by his Example most
of his Peers did the like; which adulterous
doings he foretold him were likely to produce
a lothfull off-spring, good for nothing but to
be the ruin of that Kingdom, as it fell out not
long after. The next year Osmund, according
to *Florence*, ruleing the South-Saxons, and Swi-
thred the East, Eadbert in Northumberland, fol-
lowing the steps of his Predecessor, got him
into a Monks Hood; the more to be won-
der'd, that having reign'd worthily twenty
one years, with the love and high estimation
of all, both at home and abroad, able still to
Govern, and much entreated by the Kings his
Neighbours, not to lay down his charge; with
offer on that condition to yield up to him part
of thir own Dominion, he could not be mov'd
from his resolution, but relinquish'd his Regal
Sim. Dun.
Eccles. L.2.
Office

759. Office to *Oswulf* his Son; who at the years end, though without just cause, was slain by his own Servants. And the year after dy'd *Ethelbert*, Son of *Vilred*, the second of that name in Kent. After *Oswulf*, *Ethelwald*, otherwise call'd *Mollo*, was set up King; who in his third year had a great Battel at *Eldune*, by *Melros*, slew *Oswin* a great Lord, rebelling, and gain'd the Victory. But the third year after, fell by the treachery of *Alcred*, who assum'd his place. The fowrth year after which, *Catarracta* an antient and fair Citty in *York-shire*, was burnt by *Arnred* a certain Tyrant, who the same year came to like end. And after five years more, *Alcred* the King depos'd and forsak'n of all his People, fled with a few, first to *Bebba*, a strong Citty of those parts, thence to *Kinot* King of the *Picts*. *Ethelred* the Son of *Mollo*, was crown'd in his stead. Mean while *Offa* the *Mercian*, growing powerfull, had subdu'd a Neighbouring People by *Simeon*, call'd *Hestings*; and fought successfully this year with *Alric* King of Kent, at a place call'd *Oitanford*: the Annals also speak of wondrous Serpents then seen in *Sussex*. Nor had *Kinwulf* the *West-Saxon* giv'n small proof of his valour in several Battles against the *Welch* heretofore; but this year 775 meeting with *Offa*, at a place call'd *Besington*, was put to the worse, and *Offa* won the Town for which they contended. In *Northumberland*, *Ethelred* having caus'd three of his Nobles, *Aldwulf*, *Kinwulf*, and *Ecca*, treacherously to be slain by two other Peers, was himself the next year driv'n into banishment;

nient, *Elfwald* the Son of *Oswulf* succeeding in his place; yet not without Civil Broils; for in his second year *Osbald* and *Ethelheard*, two Noblemen, raising Forces against him, routed *Bearne* his General, and persueing, burnt him at a place call'd *Seletune*. I am sensible how wearisom it may likely be to read of so many bare and reasonles Actions, so many names of Kings one after another, acting little more than mute persons in a Scene : what would it be to have inserted the long Bead-roll of Arch-bishops, Bishops, Abbots, Abbesses, and thir doeings, neither to Religion profitable, nor to Morality, swelling my Authors each to a voluminous body, by me studiously omitted ; and left as thir propriety, who have a mind to write the Ecclesiastical matters of those Ages ; neither do I care to wrinkle the smoothness of History with rugged names of places unknown, better harp'd at in *Camden*, and other Chorographers. Six years therefore pass'd over in silence, as wholey of such Argument, bring us to relate next the unfortunate end of *Kinnulf* the *West-Saxon*; who having laudably reign'd about thirty one years, yet suspecting that *Kineard* Brother of *Sigebert* the former King, intended to usurp the Crown after his Decease, or revenge his Brothers expulsion, had commanded him into banishment ; but he lurking here and there on the borders with a small Company, having had intelligence that *Kinnulf* was in the Country thereabout, at *Merantun*, or *Merton* in *Surrey*, at the House of a Woman whom he lov'd, went by night & be-

780.

Sim. Dun.

786.

*Ethelwerd.**Malmsh.**Sax. Ann.**Camdin.*

fet

set the place. *Kenwulf* over-confident either of his Royal presence, or personal valour, issuing forth with the few about him, runs feirly at *Kineard*, and wounds him sore, but by his followers hem'd in, is kill'd among them. The report of so great an accident soon running to a place not far off, where many more attendants awaited the Kings return, *Osric* and *Wivert*, two Earles hasted with a great number to the House, where *Kineard* and his fellows yet remain'd. He seeing himself surrounded, with fair words and promise of great guifts, attempted to appease them; but those rejected with disdain, fights it out to the last, and is slain with all but one or two of his Retinue, which were nigh a hundred. *Kinwulf* was succeeded by *Birthric*, being both descended of *Kerdic* the Founder of that Kingdome. Not better was the end of *Elfwald* in *Northumberland*, two years after slain miserably by the Conspiracy of *Siggan*, one of his Nobles, others say of the whole People at *Scilcester* by the *Roman Wall*; yet undeservedly, as his Sepulchre at *Hagustald*, now *Hexham* upon *Tine*, and some Miracles there said to be done, are alleg'd to witness; and *Siggan* five years after laid violent hands on himself. *Ofred* Son of *Alcreed* advanc't into the room of *Elfwald*, and within one year driv'n out, left his Seat vacant to *Ethelred* Son of *Mollo*, who after ten years of banishment (impris'nement, saith *Alcuin*) had the Scepter put again into his hand. The third year of *Birthric* King of *West-Saxons*, gave beginning from abroad to a new

788.

Sim. Dun.
Malmsb.

Camden.

Malmsb.

Sim. Dun.

789.

new and fatal revolution of Calamity on this Land. For three *Danish* Ships, the first that had bin seen heer of that Nation arriving in the West, to visit these, as was suppos'd, Foreign Merchants, the Kings gatherer of Customs taking Horse from *Dorchester*, found them Spies and Enemies. For being commanded to come and give account of thir landing at the Kings Custome-House, they flew him and all who came with him; as an earnest of the many slaughters, rapines, and hostilities, which they return'd not long after to commit over all the Iland. Of this *Danish* Pontan. first arrival, and on a sudden worse than hostile Aggression, the *Danish* History far otherwise relates, as if thir landing had bin at the mouth of *Humber*, and thir spoilfull march far into the Countrey; though soon repell'd by the Inhabitants, they hasted back as fast to thir Ships: But from what cause, what reason of State, what Authority or Public Counsell the Invasion proceeded, makes not mention, and our wonder yet the more, by telling us that *Sigefrid* then King in *Denmarke*, and long after, was a man studious more of Peace and Quiet than of Warlike matters. These Pontan. therefore seem rather to have bin some wanderers at Sea, who with publick Commission, or without, through love of spoil, or hatred of Christianity, seeking booties on any Land of Christians, came by chance or weather on this shore. The next year *Ofred* in *Northumberland*, who driv'n out by his Nobles had given place to *Etheired*, was tak'n and forcibly Sim. Dun. 790. slay'n

791. shav'n a Monk at *York*. And the year after,
Sim. Dun. *Oelf*, and *Oelfwin*, Sons of *Elfwald*, formerly
 King, were drawn by fair promises from the
 Principal Church of *York*, and after by com-
 mand of *Ethelred*, cruelly put to death at *Won-*
waldremere, a Village by the great Pool in
Camden. *Lancashire*, now call'd *Winanermere*. Nor

792. was the third year less bloody; for *Osred*,
Sim. Dun. who not likeing a shav'n Crown, had desir'd
Sim. Dun. banishment and obtain'd it, returning from
Eccles. L.2.

the Ile of *Man* with small Forces, at the se-
 cret but deceitfull Call of certain Nobles, who
 by Oath had promis'd to assist him, was also
 tak'n, and by *Ethelred* dealt with in the same
 manner; who the better to avouch his Cruel-
 ties, thereupon married *Elfled* the Daughter
 of *Offa*: for in *Offa* was found as little Faith
 or Mercy. He the same year having drawn
 to his Palace *Ethelbrite* King of *East-Angles*,
 with fair invitations to marry his Daughter,
 caus'd him to be there inhospitably beheaded,
 and his Kingdome wrongfully seis'd, by the
 wicked counsel of his Wife, faith *Mat. West.*
 annexing thereto a long unlikely Tale. For
 which violence and bloodshed to make attone-
 ment, with Fryers at least, he bestows the re-
 liques of *St. Alban*, in a Shrine of Pearl and
 Gold. Far worse it far'd the next year with
 the reliques in *Lindisfarne*; where the *Danes*
 landing, pillag'd that Monastery, and of Fry-
 ers kill'd some, carried away others Captive,
 sparing neither Priest nor Lay: which many
 strange thunders and fiery Dragons, with o-
 ther impressions in the Air seen frequently be-
 fore,

793.
Sim. Dun.

fore, were judg'd to foresignifie. This year *Alric* third Son of *Victred* ended in *Kent* his long Reign of thirty four years : with him ended the Race of *Hengist*: thenceforth whomever Wealth or Faction advanc'd, took on him the Name and State of a King. The *Saxon Annals* of 784 name *Ealmund* then Reigning in *Kent*; but that consists not with the time of *Alric*, and I find him no where else mention'd. The year following was remarkable for the Death of *Offa* the *Mercian*, a strenuous and futtle King; he had much intercourse with *Charles* the Great, at first enmity, to the interdicting of Commerce on either side, at length much amity and firm League, as appears by the Letter of *Charles* himself yet extant, procur'd by *Alcuin* a learned and prudent man, though a Monk, whom the Kings of *England* in those dayes had sent Orator into *France*, to maintain good correspondence between them and *Charles* the Great. He granted, faith *Huntingdon*, a perpetual tribute to the Pope out of every House in his Kingdome; for yielding perhaps to translate the Primacy of *Canterbury* to *Lichfield* in his own Dominion. He drew a trench of wondrous length between *Mercia* and the British Confines, from Sea to Sea. *Ecferth* the Son of *Offa*, a Prince of great hope, who also had bin Crown'd nine years before his Fathers Decease, restoring to the Church what his Father had seis'd on : yet within four Months by a sickness ended his Reign. And to *Kenulf* next in right of the same Progeny bequeath'd his

794.
Malmsb.*Affer. Men.*
Sim. Dun.

Kingdome. Mean while the *Danish* Pirats who still wasted *Northumberland*, ventring on shoar to spoil another Monastery at the mouth of the River *Don*, were assail'd by the *English*, thir Chief Captain slain on the place ; then returning to Sea, were most of them Ship-wrecked ; others driv'n again on shoar, were put all to the Sword. *Simeon* attributes this thir punishment to the power of St *Cudbert*, offended with them for the risling of his Covent. Two years after this, dy'd *Ethelred* twice King, but not exempted at last from the fate of many his predecessors, miserably slain by his People, some say deservedly, as not unconscious with them who train'd *O'sred* to his ruin. *Osbald* a Nobleman exalted to the Throne, and in less than a month, deserted and expelled, was forc'd to fly at last from *Lindisfarn* by Sea to the *Pictish* King, and dy'd an Abbot. *Eardulf* whom *Ethelred* six years before had commanded to be put to death at *Ripun*, before the Abbey-Gate, dead as was suppos'd, and with solemn Dirge carried into the Church, after midnight found there alive, I read not how, then banish'd, now recall'd, was in *York* Created King. In *Kent*, *Ethelbert* or *Pren*, whom the Annals call *Eadbright* (so different they often are one from another, both in timing and in naming) by som means having usurp'd Regal Power, after two years Reign contending with *Kenulf* the *Mercian*, was by him tak'n Pris'ner, and soon after, out of pious commiseration let go : but not receav'd of his own, what became of him,

Malmsbury

795.
Sim. Dun.

Malmsbury leaves in doubt. Simeon writes, that *Kennif* commanded to put out his Eyes, and lop off his hands; but whether the sentence were executed or not, is left as much in doubt by his want of expression. The second year after this, they in *Northumberland* who had conspir'd against *Ethelred*, now also raising Warr against *Eardulf*, under *Wada* thir Chief Captain, after much havock on either side at *Langho*, by *Whaley* in *Lancashire*, the Conspirators at last flying, *Eardulf* return'd with Victory. The same year *London*, with a great multitude of her Inhabitants, by a sudden fire was consum'd. The year 800 made way for great alteration in *England*, uniting her seven Kingdoms into one, by *Ecbert* the famous *West-Saxon*; him *Birthric* dying Childless left next to Reign, the only survivor of that Linage, descended from *Inegild* the Brother of King *Ina*. And according to his Birth liberally bred, he began early from his youth to give signal hopes of more than ordinary worth growing up in him; which *Birthric* fearing, and withall his juster Title to the Crown, secretly sought his life, and *Ecbert* perceaving, fled to *Offa* the *Mercian*: but he having married *Eadburg* his Daughter to *Birthric*, easily gave ear to his Embassadors coming to require *Ecbert*: He again put to his shifts, escap'd thence into *France*; but after three years banishment there, which perhaps contributed much to his Education, *Charles* the great then Reigning, he was call'd over by the Public Voice (for *Birthric* was newly dead)

798.
Sim. Dun.

800.

Malmsb.

Sax. Ann.

and with general applause Created King of West-Saxons. The same day Ethelmund at Kin-
neresford, passing over with the Worcestershire men, was met by Wealstan another Nobleman with those of Wiltshire, between whom happen'd a great fray, wherin the Wiltshire men overcame, but both Dukes were slain, no reason of thir quarrel writ'n ; such bickerings to recount, met oft'n in these our Writers, what more worth is it than to Chronicle the Warrs of Kites, or Crows, flocking and fighting in the Air ? The year following, Eardulf the Nor-
thumbrian, leading forth an Army against Ke-
nulf the Mercian, for harboring certain of his Enemies, by the diligent mediation of other Princes and Prelats, Arms were laid aside, and amity soon sworn between them.

801.
Sim. Dun.

Malmsb.
L. 2.
Affer.

802.
Sim. Dun.

But Ead-
burga the Wife of Birthric, a Woeman every way wick'd, in malice especially cruel, could not or car'd not to appease the general hatred justly conceiv'd against her ; accustom'd in her Husbands days to accuse any whom she spight-ed ; and not prevailing to his ruine, her practice was by poison secretly to contrive his death. It fortun'd that the King her Husband, lighting on a Cup which she had temperd, not for him, but for one of his great Favourites, whom she could not harm by accusing, sipp'd therof only, and in a while after still pineing away, ended his days ; the favourite drinking deeper found speedier the Operation. She fearing to be question'd for these facts, with what treasure she had, pass'd over-sea to Charles the Great, whom with rich guifts coming to his

his presence, the Emperour courtly receav'd with this pleasant proposal : Choose *Eadburga*, which of us two thou wilt, me or my Son (for his Son stood by him) to be thy Husband : She no dissembler of what she lik'd best, made easie answer, Were it in my choice, I should choose of the two your Son rather, as the younger man. To whom the Emperour between jest and earnest, Hadst thou chosen me, I had bestow'd on thee my Son ; but since thou hast chos'n him, thou shalt have neither him nor me. Nevertheless he assign'd her a rich Monastery to dwell in as Abbess ; for that life it may seem, she chose next to profess ; but being a while after detected of unchastity, with one of her followers, she was commanded to depart thence ; from that time wandring poorly up and down with one Servant, in *Pavia* a City of *Italy*, she finish'd at last in beggary her shamefull life. In the year 805 *Cuthred*, 805, whom *Kenulf* the *Mercian* had, instead of *Malmsb.* *Pren*, made King in *Kent*, having obscurely *sax. An.* Reign'd eight years, deceas'd. In *Northum- 806.* *berland*, *Eardulf* the year following was driv'n *Hunting.* out of his Realm by *Alfwold*, who Reign'd two *Sim. Dun.* years in his room ; after whom *Eandred* Son 808. of *Eardulf* 33 years ; but I see not how this can stand with the sequel of story out of better Authors : Much less that which *Buchanan* relates, the year following, of *Acaius* King of *Scots*, who having Reign'd 32 years, and dying in 809, had formerly aided (but in what year of his Reign tells not) *Hungus* King of *Picts* with 10000 *Scots*, against *Atelstan* a *Sax-*

on or English man, then wasting the *Pictish* Borders; that *Hungus* by the aid of those *Scots* and the help of St. *Andrew* their Patron, in a Vision by night, and the appearance of his Cross by day, routed the astonisht *English*, and slew *Athelstan* in fight. Who this *Athelstan* was, I believe no man knows; *Buchanan* supposes him to have bin som *Danish* Commander, on whom King *Alured*, or *Alfred*, had bestow'd *Northumberland*; but of this I find no footstep in our Ancient Writers; and if any such thing were done in the time of *Alfred*, it must be little less than 100 years after; this *Athelstan* therfore, and this great overthrow, seems rather to have bin the fancy of som Legend than any warrantable Record. Mean while *Ecbert*, having with much Prudence, Justice, and Clemency, a work of more than one year, establisht his Kingdom and himself in the affections of his People, turns his first enterprise against the *Britans*, both them of *Cornwal*, and those beyond *Seavern*, subduing both. In *Mercia*, *Kenulf* the 6th year after, having reign'd with great praise of his Religious mind and Vertues, both in Peace and War, deceas'd.

Sim. Dun.

813.

Sax. Ann.

819.

Sax. an.

Malmesb.

His Son *Kenelm*, a Child of seven years, was committed to the care of his Elder Sister *Quen-dred*; who with a female ambition aspiring to the Crown, hir'd one who had the charge of his Nurture, to murder him, led into a woody place upon pretence of hunting. The murder, as is reported, was miraculously reveal'd; but to tell how, by a Dove dropping a writt'n Note on the Altar at *Rome*, is a long story, told,

told, though out of order, by *Malmsbury*; and under the year 821 by *Mat. West.* where I leave it to be sought by such as are more credulous than I wish my Readers. Only the Note was to this purpose.

*Low in a Mead of Kine under a Thorn,
Of head bereft li'th poor Kenelm King-born.*

Keolwulf the Brother of *Kenulf*, after one
years Reign was driv'n out by one *Bernulf* an *Ingulf.* 820.
Usurper: who in his third year, uncertain whe- 823.
ther invading or invaded, was by *Ecbert*,
though with great losf on both fides, over-
thrown and put to flight at *Ellandune* or *Wil-*
ton: yet *Malmsbury* accounts this Battel fought
in 806 a wide difference, but frequently found
in thir computations. *Bernulf* thence retire-
ing to the *East-Angles*, as part of his Domini-
on by the late seizure of *Offa*, was by them met
in the field and slain: but they doubting what
the *Mercians* might do in revenge hereof,
forthwith yeilded themselves both King and
People to the Sovrancy of *Ecbert*. As for the
Kings of *East-Angles* our Annals mention them
not since *Ethelwald*; him succeeded his Bro-
thers Sons, as we find in *Malmsbury*, *Aldulf Florent.*
(a good King, well acquainted with *Bede*) and *Genealog.*
Elmold who left the Kingdom to *Beorn*, he to
Ethelred the Father of this *Ethelbrite*, whom
Offa perfidiously put to death. *Simeon* and *Ho-*
veden, in the year 749 write that *Elfwald* King
of *East-Angles* dying, *Humbeanna* and *Alber*
shar'd the Kingdome between them; but
where

Sax. Ann.

Bed. L. 2.
c. 15.

where to insert this among the former successions is not easie, nor much material: after *Ethelbrite*, none is nam'd of that Kingdom till thir submitting now to *Ecbert*: he from this Victory against *Bernulf* sent part of his Army under *Ethelwulf* his Son, with *Alstan* Bishop of *Shirburn*, and *Wulferd* a Chief Commander, into *Kent*. Who finding *Baldred* there reigning in his 18th year, overcame and drove him over the *Thames*; whereupon all *Kent*, *Surrey*, *Sussex*, and lastly *Essex*, with her King *Swithred*, became subje&t to the Dominion of *Ecbert*. Neither were these all his exploits of this year, the first in order set down in *Saxon Annals*, being his fight against the *Devonshire Welch*, at a place call'd *Gafulford*, now *Camelford* in *Cornwall*. *Ludiken* the *Mercian*, after two years preparing to avenge *Bernulf* his Kinsman on the *East-Angles*, was by them with his five Consuls, as the Annals call them, surpris'd and put to the Sword: and *Withlaf* his Successor first vanquisht, then upon submission with all *Mercia*, made tributary to *Ecbert*. Mean while the *Northumbrian* Kingdom of it self was fall'n to shivers; thir Kings one after another so oft'n slain by the People, no man daring, though never so ambitious, to take up the Scepter which many had found so hot, (the only effectual cure of ambition that I have read) for the space of 33 years, after the death of *Ethelred* Son of *Mollo*, as *Malmsbury* writes, there was no King: many Noblemen and Prelats were fled the Country. Which mis-rule among them, the *Danes* having understood,

camden.
825.
Ingulf.

oft-

oft-times from thir Ships entring far into the Land, infested those parts with wide depopulation, wasting Towns, Churches, and Monasteries, for they were yet Heathen : The *Lent* before whose coming, on the North-side of St Peter's Church in *York*, was seen from the roof to rain blood. The causes of these Calamities, and the ruin of that Kingdom, *Alcuin*, a learned Monk living in those dayes, attributes in several Epistles, and well may, to the general ignorance and decay of lerning, which crept in among them after the death of *Beda*, and of *Ecbert* the Arch-bishop ; thir neglect of breeding up youth in the Scriptures, the spruce and gay apparel of thir Priests and Nuns, discovering thir vain and wanton minds, examples are also read, eev'n in *Beda*'s days, of thir wanton deeds : thence Altars defil'd with Perjuries, Cloisters violated with Adulteries, the Land polluted with blood of thir Princes, Civil Dissentions among the People, and finally all the same Vices which *Gildas* alleg'd of old to have ruin'd the *Britans*. In this estate *Ecbert*, who had now Conquer'd all the South, finding them in the year 827 (for he was march'd therewith an Army to compleat his Conquest of the whole Iland) no wonder if they submitted themselves to the yoke without resistance, *Eandred* thir King becoming Tributary. Thence turning his Forces the year following, he subdu'd more throughly what remain'd of *North-Wales*.

827.

828.

Mat. Wif.

The End of the Fourth Book.

THE
HISTORY
O F
BRITAIN.

BOOK V.

TH E summe of things in this Iland, or the best part therof, reduc't now under the Power of one Man ; and him one of the worthiest, which, as far as can be found in good Authors, was by none attain'd at any time heer before unless in Fables ; men might with som reason have expected from such Union, Peace and Plenty, Greatness, and the flourishing of all Estates and Degrees : but far the contrary fell out soon after, Invasion, Spoil, Desolation, slaughter of many, slavery of the rest, by the forcible landing of a fierce Nation ; *Danes* commonly called, and somtimes *Dacians*, by others, the same with *Normans* ; as barbarous as the *Saxons* themselves were at first reputed, and much more;

more; for the *Saxons* first invited came hither to dwell; these unsent for, unprovok'd, came only to destroy. But if the *Saxons*, as is above related, came most of them from *Jutland* and *Anglen*, a part of *Denmarke*, as *Danish* Writers affirm, and that *Danes* and *Normans* are the same; then in this Invasion, *Danes* drove out *Danes*, thir own Posterity. And *Normans* afterwards, none but *Ancienter Normans*. Which Invasion perhaps, had the Heptarchie stood divided as it was, had either not bin attempted, or not uneasily resisted; while each Prince and People, excited by thir neerest concernments, had more industriously defended thir own bounds, than depending on the neglect of a deputed Governour, sent oft-times from the remote residence of a secure Monarch. Though as it fell out in those troubles, the lesser Kingdoms revolting from the *West-Saxon* yoke, and not aiding each other, too much concern'd with thir own safety, it came to no better pass; while severally they sought to repell the danger nigh at hand, rather than jointly to prevent it far off. But when God hath decreed servitude on a sinful Nation, fitted by thir own Vices for no condition but servile, all Estates of Government are alike unable to avoid it. God had purpos'd to punish our instrumental punishers, though now Christians, by other Heathen, according to his Divine retaliation; Invasion for invasion, spoil for spoil, destruction for destruction. The *Saxons* were now full as wicked as the *Britans* were at thir arrival, brok'n with luxury

xury and sloth, either secular or superstitious; for laying aside the exercise of Arms, and the study of all vertuous Knowledge, som betook them to over-worldly or vicious Practice, o-
thers to Religious Idleness and Solitude, which brought forth nothing but vain and delusive Visions; easily perceav'd such, by thir commanding of things, either not belonging to the Gospel, or utterly forbidden, Ceremonies, Reliques, Monasteries, Masses, Idols, add to these ostentation of Alms, got oft-times by rapine and oppression, or intermixt with violent and lustfull deeds, somtimes prodigally bestow'd as the expiation of cruelty and bloodshed. What longer suffering could there be, when Religion it self grew so void of sincerity, and the greatest shews of purity were impur'd?

Ecbert.

ECoert in full highth of Glory, having now enjoy'd his Conquest seven peaceful years, his victorious Army long since disbanded, and the exercise of Armes perhaps laid aside, the more was found unprovided against a sudden storm of *Danes* from the Sea, who landing in the 32 of his Reign, wasted *Shepey* in *Kent*. Ecbert the next year, gathering an Army, for he had heard of thir arrival in 35 Ships, gave them Battail by the River *Carr* in *Dorsetshire*; the event whereof was, that the *Danes* kept thir

832.

Sax. Ann.

833.

Sax. Ann.

thir ground, and encamp't where the field was fought ; two Saxon Leaders, *Dudda* and *Oſmund*, and two Bishops, as som say, were there slain. This was the only check of Fortune we read of, that *Ecbert* in all his time receav'd. For the *Danes* returning two years after with a great Navy, and joining Forces with the *Cornish*, who had enter'd League with them, were overthrown and put to flight. Of these Invasions against *Ecbert*, the *Danish* History is not silent ; whether out of thir own Records or ours, may be justly doubted ; for of these times at home, I find them in much uncertainty, and beholding rather to Out-landish Chroni- cles than any Records of thir own. The Vi-
ctor *Ecbert*, as one who had done enough, sea-
sonably now, after prosperous success, the
next year with glory ended his days, and was
buried at *Winchester*.

835.

Sax. Ann.
Pontan.
Hift. Dan.
L. 4.

836.
Sax. Ann.

Ethelwolf.

Ethelwolf the Son of *Ecbert* succeeded, by *Malmsbury* describ'd a man of mild na-
ture, not inclin'd to War, or delighted with
much Dominion ; that therfore contented
with the ancient *West-Saxon* bounds, he gave
to *Ethelstan* his Brother, or Son, as som write,
the Kingdom of *Kent* and *Essex*. But the *Sax-*
on Annalist, whose Autority is Elder, faith
plainly, that both these Countries and *Sussex*,
were bequeath'd to *Ethelstan* by *Ecbert* his Fa-
ther. The unwarlike disposition of *Ethelwolf*,

Mat. West.

P gave

837.

Sax. An.

gave encouragement no doubt, and easier entrance to the *Danes*, who came again the next year with thirty three Ships ; but *Wulfheard*, one of the Kings Chief Captains, drove them back at *Southampton* with great slaughter ; himself dying the same year, of Age, as I suppose, for he seems to have bin one of *Ecbert's* old Commanders, who was sent with *Ethelwolf* to subdue *Kent*. *Ethelhelm* another of the Kings Captains with the *Dorsetshire* men, had at first like success against the *Danes* at *Portsmouth*; but they reinforcing stood thir ground, and put the *English* to rout. Worse was the success of Earl *Herebert* at a place call'd *Mere-war*, slain with the most part of his Army. The

838.

Sax. An.

839.

Sax. An.

year following in *Lindsey* also, *East-Angles*, and *Kent*, much mischief was don by thir landing; where the next year, embold'nd by success, they came on as far as *Canterbury*, *Rochester*, and *London* it self, with no less cruel hostility: and giving no respit to the peaceable mind of *Ethelwolf*, they yet return'd with the next year in thirty five Ships, fought with him, as before

840.

Sax. An.

Sim. Dun.

Mat. West.

844.

with his Father, at the River *Carr*, and made good thir ground. In *Northumberland*, *Ean-dred* the Tributary King deceasing, left the same tenure to his Son *Ethelred* driv'n out in his fowrth year, and succeeded by *Readwulf*, who soon after his Coronation hasting forth to Battel against the *Danes* at *Alvertheli*, fell with the most part of his Army; and *Ethelred* like in fortune to the former *Ethelred*, was re-exalted to his Seat. And to be yet further like him in Fate, was slain the fowrth year af-
ter.

ter. *Osbert* succeeded in his room. But more southerly, the *Danes* next year after met with som stop in the full course of thir outragious insolences. For *Earnulf* with the men of *Sax. Ans.* *Somerset*, *Alstan* the Bishop, and *Ofric* with those of *Dorsetshire*, setting upon them at the Rivers mouth of *Pedridan*, slaughter'd them in great numbers, and obtain'd a just Victory. This repulse queld them, for ought we hear, the space of six years; Then also renewing thir Invasion, with little better succes. For *Kerle* an Earl, aided with the Forces of *Devon.* *Sax. Ans.* *Shire*, assaulted and over-threw them at *Wiganbeorch* with great destruction; as prosperously were they fought with the same year at *Sandwich*, by King *Ethelstan*, and *Ealcer* his General, thir great Army defeated, and nine of thir Ships tak'n, the rest driv'n off, however to ride out the Winter on that shoar, *Affer* faith, they then first winter'd in *Shepey Ile*. Hard it is, through the bad expression of these Writers, to define this fight, whether by Sea or Land; *Hoveden* terms it a Sea fight. Nevertheless with fifty Ships (*Affer* and others add three hundred) they enter'd the mouth of *Thames*, and made excursions as far as *Canterbury* and *London*, and as *Ethelwerd* writes, destroy'd both; of *London*, *Affer* signifies only that they pillag'd it. *Bertulf* also the *Mercian*, successor of *Withlaf*, with all his Army they forc'd to fly, and him beyond the Sea. Then passing over *Thames* with thir Powers into *Surrey*, and the *West-Saxons*, and meeting there with King *Ethelwolf* and *Ethelbald* his Son, at a *Hunting.* *Mat. West.* place

place call'd *Ak-Lea*, or *Oak-Lea*, they receav'd
 a total defeat with memorable slaughter. This
 was counted a lucky year to *England*, and
 brought to *Ethelwolf* great reputation. *Burhred*
 therfore, who after *Bertulf* held of him the
Mercian Kingdom, two years after this, im-
 ploring his Aid against the *North-Welch*, as
 then troublsom to his Confines, obtain'd it of
 him in person, and therby reduc'd them to
 obedience. This done, *Ethelwolf* sent his Son
Alfrid a Child of five years, well accompaniied
 to *Rome*, whom *Leo* the Pope both Consecra-
 ted to be King afterward, and adopted to be
 his Son; at home *Ealker* with the Forces of
Kent, and *Huda* with those of *Surrey*, fell on
 the *Danes* at thir landing in *Tanet*, and at first
 put them back; but the slain and drown'd
 were at length so many on either side, as left
 the loss equal on both: which yet hinder'd
 not the solemnity of a Marriage at the Feast
 of *Easter*, between *Burhred* the *Mercian*, and
Ethelfwida King *Ethelwolf*'s Daughter. How-
 beit the *Danes* next year winter'd again
 in *Shepey*. Whom *Ethelwolf* not finding hu-
 mane health sufficient to resist, growing daily
 upon him, in hope of Divine Aid, registerd in
 a Book, and dedicated to God the tenth part
 of his own Lands, and of his whole Kingdom,
 eas'd of all impositions, but converted to the
 maintenance of Masses and Psalms weekly to
 be fung for the prospering of *Ethelwolf* and his
 Captains, as appears at large by the Patent it
 self, in *William of Malmsbury*. *Affer* faith, he
 did it for the redemption of his Soul, and the
 Soul

853.
Sax. Ann.
Affer.

Malmsb.
 854.
Sax. An.

Soul of his Ancestors. After which, as having done som great matter, to shew himself at ~~home~~, and be applauded of the Pope ; he takes a long and cumbersome journey thither with young *Alfrid* again, and there stayes a year, when his place requir'd him rather heer in the field against Pagan Enemies left wintring in his Land. Yet so much manhood he had, as to return thence no Monk ; and in his way home took to Wife *Judith* Daughter of *Charles the Bald*, King of *France*. But ere his return, *Ethelbald* his Eldest Son, *Alstan* his trusty Bishop, and *Enulf* Earl of *Somerset* conspir'd against him ; thir complaints were, that he had tak'n with him *Alfrid* his youngest Son to be there inaugurated King, and brought home with him an Out-landish Wife ; for which they endeavour'd to deprive him of his Kingdome. The disturbance was expected to bring forth nothing less than Warr : but the King abhorring Civil Discord, after many conferences tending to Peace, condescended to divide the Kingdom with his Son ; division was made, but the matter so carried, that the Eastern and worſt part was malignly afforded to the Father : The Western and best giv'n to the Son, at which many of the Nobles had great indignation, offring to the King thir utmost assistance for the recovery of all ; whom he peacefully dissuading, sat down contented with his portion assign'd. In the *East-Angles*, *Edmund* Lineal from the Ancient Stock of those Kings, a Youth of fourteen years only, but of great hopes, was with consent of all

855.
Affer.

857. but his own Crown'd at *Burie*. About this time, as *Buchanan* relates, the *Picts*, who not long before had by the *Scots* bin driv'n out of thir Countrey, part of them coming to *Osbert* and *Ella*, then Kings of *Northumberland*, obtain'd Aid against *Donaldus* the *Scotish* King, to recover thir Ancient Possession. *Osbert* who in person undertook the Expedition, marching into *Scotland*, was at first put to a retreat; but returning soon after on the *Scots*, over-secure of thir suppos'd Victory, put them to flight with great slaughter, took Pris'ner thir King, and persu'd his Victory beyond *Sterlinbridge*. The *Scots* unable to resist longer, and by Embassadors entreating Peace, had it granted them on these Conditions: the *Scots* were to quit all they had posses'd within the Wall of *Severus*: The Limits of *Scotland* were beneath *Sterlinbridge* to be the River *Forth*, and on the other side, *Dunbritton Frith*; from that time so call'd of the *British* then seated in *Cumberland*, who had joind with *Osbert* in this Action, and so far extended on that side the *Brittish* Limits. If this be true, as the *Scotch* Writers themself's witness (and who would think them fabulous to the disparagement of thir own Country?) how much wanting have bin our Historians to thir Countries Honour, in letting pass unmention'd an exploit so memorable, by them remember'd and attested, who are wont ofter to extenuate than to amplifie aught done in *Scotland* by the *English*? *Donaldus* on these conditions releas't, soon after dyes; according to *Buchanan*, in 858.

Ethelwolf.

Ethelwolf Chief King in *England*, had the year before ended his life, and was buried as his Father at *Winchester*. He was from his youth much addicted to devotion; so that in his Father's time he was ordain'd Bishop of *Winchester*; and unwillingly, for want of other Legitimate Issue, succeeded him in the Throne; managing therfore his greatest Affairs by the Activity of two Bishops, *Alstan of Sherburne*, and *Swithine of Winchester*. But *Alstan* is noted of Covetousness and Oppression, by *William of Malmsbury*; the more vehemently no doubt for doing som notable damage to that Monastery. The same Author writes, that *Sigon. de Ethelwolf* at *Rome*, paid a Tribute to the Pope, *regn. Ital.* continu'd to his days. However he were facil to his Son, and seditious Nobles, in yeilding up part of his Kingdome, yet his Queen he treated not the less honourably, for whomsoever it displeas'd. The *West-Saxons* had decreed ever since the time of *Eadburga*, the infamous Wife of *Birthric*, that no Queen should sit in State with the King, or be dignifi'd with the Title of Queen. But *Ethelwolf* permitted not that *Judith* his Queen should lose any point of Regal State by that Law. At his death, he divided the Kingdome between his two Sons, *Ethelbald*, and *Ethelbert*; to the younger *Kent*, *Essex*, *Surrey*, *Sussex*, to the Elder all the rest; to *Peter* and *Paul* certain Revenues yearly, for what uses let others relate, who write also his Pedigree, from Son to Father, up to *Adam*.

Ethelbald, and Ethelbert.

Affer.
Malmsb.
Sim. Dun.

860.

Sax. Ann.

Ethelbald, unnatural and disloyal to his Father, fell justly into another, though contrary sin, of too much love to his Fathers Wife ; and whom at first he oppos'd coming into the Land, her now unlawfully marrying, he takes into his Bed ; but not long enjoying, dy'd at three years end, without doing aught more worthy to be rememberd ; having reign'd two years with his Father, impiously usurping, and three after him, as unworthily inheriting. And his hap was all that while to be unmolested by the *Danes*; not of Divine favour doubtles, but to his greater condemnation, living the more securely his incestuous life. *Huntingdon* on the other side much praises *Ethelbald*, and writes him buried at *Sherburn*, with great sorrow of the People, who miss'd him long after. *Mat. West.* faith, that he repented of his Incest with *Judith*, and dismiss'd her : but *Affer* an Eye witness of those times, mentions no such thing.

Ethelbert alone.

Ethelbald by death remov'd, the whole Kingdom came rightfully to *Ethelbert* his next Brother. Who though a Prince of great Virtue and no blame, had as short a Reign allotted him as his faulty Brother, nor that so peaceful;

peaceful ; once or twice invaded by the *Danes*. But they having landed in the West with a great Army, and sackt *Winchester*, were met by *Osric Earl of Southampton*, and *Ethelwolf of Bark-shire*, beat'n to thir Ships, and forc't to leave thir booty. Five years after, about the time of his death, they set foot again in *Tanet* ; the *Kentish* men wearied out with so frequent Alarms, came to agreement with them for a certain summe of money ; but ere the Peace could be ratifi'd, and the money gather'd, the *Danes* impatient of delay by a sudden eruption in the night, soon wasted all the *East of Kent*. Mean while or something before, *Ethelbert* deceasing was buried as his Brother at *Sherburne*.

855.

Sax. Ann.

Ethelred.

Ethelred the third Son of *Ethelwolf*, at his first coming to the Crown was entertain'd with a fresh Invasion of *Danes*, led by *Hinguar* and *Hubba*, two Brothers, who now had got footing among the *East-Angles* ; there they winter'd, and coming to terms of Peace with the Inhabitants, furnish'd themselves of Horses, forming by that means many Troops with Riders of thir own : These Pagans, *Affer* faith, came from the River *Danubius*. Fitted thus for a long expedition, they ventur'd the next year to make thir way over Land and over *Humber*, as far as *York*, them they found to thir hands imbroil'd in Civil Dissentions ;

866.

Sax. ann.

Hunting.

867.

Sax. ann.

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After.

868.

After.

thir King *Osbert* they had thrown out, and *Ella* Leader of another Faction chosen in his room; who both, though late, admonish'd by thir Common Danger, towards the years end with United Powers made Head against the *Danes* and prevail'd; but perfueing them over-eagerly into *York*, then but slenderly wall'd, the *Northumbrians* were every where slaughter'd, both within and without; thir Kings also both slain, thir City burnt, saith *Malmesbury*, the rest as they could, made thir Peace, over-run and vanquisht as far as the River *Tine*, and *Egbert* of English Race appointed King over them. *Bromton* no Ancient Author (for he wrote since *Mat. West.*) nor of much Credit, writes a particular Cause of the *Danes* coming to *York*: that *Bruern* a Nobleman, whose Wife King *Osbert* had ravisht, call'd in *Hinguar* and *Hubba* to revenge him. The example is remarkable if the truth were as evident. Thence victorious, the *Danes* next year enter'd into *Mercia* towards *Nottingham*, where they spent the winter. *Burhred* then King of that Country, unable to resist, implores the Aid of *Ethelred* and young *Alfred* his brother, they assembling thir Forces and joyning with the *Mercians* about *Nottingham*, offer Battel: the *Danes* not daring to come forth, kept themselves within that Town and Castle, so that no great fight was hazarded there; at length the *Mercians* weary of long suspence, enter'd into conditions of Peace with thir Enemies. After which the *Danes* returning back to *York*, made thir abode there the space of

of one year, committing, som say, many Cruelties. Thence imbarkeing to *Lindsey*, and all the Summer destroying that Country, about *Sim. Dun.* *September* they came with like fury into *Kesteven*, another part of *Lincolnshire*, where *Algar* the Earle of *Howland* now *Holland*, with his Forces, and two hunder'd stout Souldiers belonging to the Abbey of *Croiland*, three hunder'd from about *Boston*, *Morcar* i Lord of *Brunne*, with his numerous Family, well trained and armed, *Osgot* Governour of *Lincoln* with 500 of that City, all joyning together, gave Battel to the *Danes*, slew of them a great multitude, with three of thir Kings, and pursued the rest to thir Tents ; but the night following, *Gothrur*, *Baseg*, *Osketil*, *Halfden*, and *Hamond*, five Kings, and as many Earls, *Frena*, *Hinguar*, *Hubba*, *Sidroc* the Elder and Younger, coming in from several parts with great Forces and Spoils, great part of the *English* began to slink home. Nevertheless *Algar* with such as forsook him not, all next day in order of Battel facing the *Danes*, and sustaining unmov'd the brunt of thir assaults, could not with-hold his Men at last from persueing thir counterfitted flight ; whereby op'n'd and disorder'd, they fell into the snare of thir Enemies, rushing back upon them. *Algar* and those Captains fore-nam'd with him, all resolute men, retreating to a hill side, and slaying of such as follow'd them, manifold thir own number, dy'd at length upon heaps of dead which they had made round about them. The *Danes* thence passing on into the Country of

871.
Sax. Ann.
Afer.

of *East-Angles*, rifl'd and burnt the Monastery of *Elie*, overthrew Earl *Wulketul* with his whole Army, and lodg'd out the Winter at *Thetford*; where King *Edmund* assailing them, was with his whole Army put to flight, himself tak'n, bound to a stake, and shot to death with Arrows, his whole Country subdu'd. The next year with great Supplies, saith *Huntingdon*, bending thir march toward the *West-Saxons*, the only People now left, in whom might seem yet to remain strength or courage likely to oppose them, they came to *Reading*, fortif'd there between the two Rivers of *Thames*, and *Kenet*, and about three dayes after, sent out wings of Horse under two Earls to forage the Country; but *Ethelwulf* Earl of *Bark-shire*, at *Englefeild* a Village nigh, encounter'd them, slew one of thir Earls, and obtain'd a great Victory. Four dayes after came the King himself and his Brother *Alfred* with the main Battail; and the *Danes* issuing forth, a bloody fight began, on either side great slaughter, in which Earl *Ethelwulf* lost his life; but the *Danes* losing no ground, kept thir place of standing to the end. Neither did the *English* for this make les hast to another Conflict at *Ecesdune*, or *Ashdown*, four days after, where both Armies with thir whole Force on either side met. The *Danes* were imbattail'd in two great Bodies, the one led by *Bascai* and *Halfden*, thir two Kings, the other by such Earls as were appointed; in like manner the *English* divided thir Powers, *Ethelred* the King stood against thir Kings; and though on the lower ground,

ground, and coming later into the Battail from his Orisons, gave a fierce onset, wherin *Bascai*, (the Danish History names him *Ivarus* the Son of *Regnerus*) was slain. *Alfred* was plac'd against the Earls, and beginning the Battail ere his Brother came into the Field, with such resolution charg'd them, that in the shock most of them were slain; they are nam'd *Sidroc Elder* and *Younger*, *Osbern*, *Frean*, *Harald*; at length in both Divisions, the *Danes* turn thir backs; many thousands of them cut off, the rest persu'd till night. So much the more it may be wonder'd to hear next in the Annals, that the *Danes* fourteen days after such an Overthrow, fighting again with *Ethelred* and his Brother *Alfred* at *Basing*, under Conduct, faith the Danish History, of *Agnerus* and *Hub*, Brothers of the slain *Ivarus*, should obtain the Victory; especially fince the new supply of *Danes* mention'd by *Affer*, arriv'd after this Action. But after two Months, the King *Pontan.* and his Brother fought with them again at *Merton*, *Hist. Dan.* in two Squadrons as before, in which L. 4. fight hard it is to understand who had the better; so darkly do the *Saxon Annals* deliver thir meaning with more than wonted infancy. Yet these I take (for *Affer* is heer silent) to be the Chief Fountain of our Story, the Ground and Basis upon which the Monks later in time Glos and Comment at thir pleasure. Nevertheless it appears, that on the *Saxon* part, not *Heamund* the Bishop only, but many valiant men lost thir lives. This fight was follow'd by a heavy Summer Plague; whereof, as is thought,

camd.

thought, King *Ethelred* dy'd in the fifth of his Reign, and was buried at *Winburne*, where his Epitaph inscribes that he had his death wound by the *Danes*, according to the *Danish History* 872. Of all these terrible Landings and Devastations by the *Danes*, from the days of *Ethelwolf* till thir two last Battels with *Ethelred*, or of thir Leaders, whether Kings, Dukes, or Earls, the *Danish History* of best Credit saith nothing; so little Wit or Conscience it seems they had to leave any memory of thir brutish, rather than manly actions; unless we shall suppose them to have come, as above was cited out of *Affer*, from *Danubium*, rather than from *Denmark*, more probably some barbarous Nations of *Prussia*, or *Livonia*, not long before seated more Northward on the *Baltic Sea*.

Alfred.

Alfred the fourth Son of *Ethelwolf*, had scarce perform'd his Brothers Obsèquies, and the Solemnity of his own Crown-ing, when at the months end in hast with a small Power he encounter'd the whole Army of *Danes* at *Wilton*, and most part of the day soyl'd them; but unwarily following the chase, gave others of them the advantage to rally; who returning upon him now weary, remained Masters of the field. This year, as is affirm'd in the Annals, nine Battels had bin fought against the *Danes* on the South-side of *Thames*,

Thames, besides innumerable excursions made by *Alfred* and other Leaders; one King, nine Earls were fall'n in fight, so that weary on both sides at the years end, League or Truce was concluded. Yet next year the *Danes* took thir march to *London*, now expos'd thir prey, there they winter'd, and therethere came the *Mercians* to renew Peace with them. The year following they rov'd back to the parts beyond *Humber*, but winter'd at *Torksey* in *Lincolnshire*, where the *Mercians* now the third time made Peace with them. Notwithstanding which, removing thir Camp to *Rependune* in *Mercia*, now *Repton* upon *Trent* in *Derbyshire*, and there wintring, they constrein'd *Burhred* the King to fly into Forein Parts, making feisure of his Kingdom, he running the direct way to *Rome*, with better reason than his Ancestors, dy'd there, and was buried in a Church by the *English* School. His Kingdom the *Danes* farm'd out to *Kelwulf*, one of his Household Servants or Officers, with condition to be resign'd them when they commanded. From *Rependune* they dislodg'd, *Haffen* thir King leading part of his Army Northward, winter'd by the River *Tine*, and subiecting all those Quarters, wasted also the *Picts* and *British* beyond: but *Cuthrun*, *Oskirill*, and *Anwynd*, other three of thir Kings moving from *Rependune*, came with a great Army to *Grantbrig*, and remain'd there a whole year. *Alfred* that Summer purposing to try his Fortune with a Fleet at Sea (for he had found that the want of Shipping and neglect.

872.

Sax. ann.

873.

Sax. ann.

874.

Sax. ann.

875.

Sax. ann.

lect of Navigation; had expos'd the Land to these Piracies) met with seven *Danish* Rovers, took one, the rest escaping; an acceptable success from so small a beginning: for the *English* at that time were but little experienc't in Sea affairs. The next years first motion of

876.
Sax. ann.

Florent.

Florent.

877.
Sax. ann.

Affer.

the *Danes* was towards *Warham* Castle: where *Alfred* meeting them, either by Policy, or thir doubt of his Power; *Ethelwerd* saith, by Money brought them to such terms of Peace, as that they swore to him upon a hallow'd Bracelet, others say upon certain Reliques (a Solemn Oath it seems which they never voutsafed before to any other Nation) forth-with to depart the Land: but falsifying that Oath, by night with all the Horse they had (*Affer* saith, slaying all the Horsemen he had) stole to *Exeter*, and there winter'd. In *Northumberland*, *Hafden* thir King began to settle, to divide the Land, to Till, and to Inhabit. Mean while they in the West who were march'd to *Exeter*, enter'd the City, coursing now and then to *Warham*; but thir Fleet the next year failing or rowing about the West, met with such a tempest neer to *Swanswich*, or *Gnavewic*, as wrack'd 120 of thir Ships, and left the rest easie to be maister'd by those Gallies which *Alfred* had set there to guard the Seas, and streit'n *Exeter* of provision. He the while beleagering them in the City; now humbl'd with the loss of thir Navy (two Navies, saith *Affer*, the one at *Gnavewic*, the other at *Swanswine*) distress'd them so, as that they gave him as many hostages as he requir'd, and as many Oaths,

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Oaths, to keep thir Covnanted Peace, and kept it. For the Summer comming on, they departed into *Mercia*, wherof part they divided amongst themselves, part left to *Kelwulf* thir substituted King. The Twelftide following, all Oaths forgott'n, they came to *Chippenham* in *Wiltshire*, dispeopling the Countries round, dispossessing some, driving others beyond the Sea; *Alfred* himself with a small Company was fore'd to keep within Woods and Fenny places, and for some time all alone, as *Florent* faith, sojourn'd with *Dunwulf* a Swine-heard, made afterwards for his devotion, and aptness to Learning, Bishop of *Winchester*. *Haffen* and the Brother of *Hinguar*, coming with twenty three Ships from *North-Wales*, where they had made great spoil, landed in *Devonshire*, nigh to a strong Castle nam'd *Kinwith*; where by the Garrison issuing forth unexpe-
878.
Sax. Ann.
sim. Dun.
Affers.
camdens.

ctedly, they were slain with twely hunder'd of thir men. Mean while the King about *Easter*, not despairing of his Affairs, built a Fortres at a place call'd *Athelney* in *Somersetshire*, ther-in valiantly defending Himself and his Followers, frequently fallyng forth. The seventh week after, he rode out to a place call'd *Ecbryt-stone* in the East part of *Selwood*: thether resorted to him with much gratulation the *Somerset* and *Wiltshire* men, with many out of *Hamshire*, some of whom a little before had fled thir Countrey; with these marching to *Ethandune* now *Edindon* in *Wiltshire*, he gave Battel to the whole *Danish* Power, and put them to flight. Then besieging thir Castle,

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879.

Sax. An.

within fourteen dayes took it. *Malmsbury* writes, that in this time of his recess, to go a spy into the *Danish* Camp, he took upon him with one Servant the habit of a Fidler; by this means gaining access to the Kings Table, and somtimes to his Bed-Chamber, got knowledge of thir secrets, thir careless encamping, and therby this opportunity of assailing them on a sudden. The *Danes* by this misfortune brok'n, gave him more hostages, and renud thir Oaths to depart out of his Kingdom. Thir King *Cytrs*, or *Gothrun*, offer'd willingly to receave Baptism, and accordingly came with thirty of his Friends, to a place call'd *Aldra*, or *Aubre*, neer to *Athelney*, and were baptiz'd at *Wedmore*; where *Alfred* receav'd him out of the Font, and nam'd him *Athelstan*. After which, they abode with him twelv daies, and were dismiss't with rich presents. Whereupon the *Danes* remov'd next year to *Cirencester*, thence peaceably to the *East-Angles*; which *Alfred*, as some write, had bestow'd on *Gothrun* to hold of him; the bounds wherof may be read among the Laws of *Alfred*. Others of them went to *Fulham* on the *Thames*, and joyning there with a great Fleet newly come into the River, thence pass'd over into *France* and *Flanders*, both which they enter'd so far conquering or wafting, as witnes'd sufficiently, that the *French* and *Flemish* were no more able than the *English*, by Policy or prowes to keep off that *Danish* Inundation from thir Land. *Alfred* thus rid of them, and intending for the future to prevent thir landing;

ing ; three years after (quiet the mean while) 882.
 with more Ships and better provided, puts to *Sax. ann.*
 Sea, and at first met with four of theirs, wher-
 of two he took, throwing the men over-board,
 then with two others, wherein were two of
 their Princes, and took them also, but not
 without some loss of his own. After three 885.
 years another Fleet of them appear'd on these *Sax. ann.*
 Seas, so huge that one part thought themselvs
 sufficient to enter upon *East-France*, the other
 came to *Rochester*, and beleaguer'd it, they
 within stoutly defending themselves, till *Al-*
fred with great Forces, coming down upon
 the *Danes*, drove them to thir Ships, leaving
 for hast all thir Horses behind them. The
 same year *Alfred* sent a Fleet toward the
East-Angles, then inhabited by the *Danes*, *Sim. Dun.*
 which at the mouth of *Stour*, meeting with
 sixteen *Danish* Ships, after some flight took
 them all, and slew the Souldiers aboard ; but
 in thir way home lying careles, were over-
 tak'n by another part of that Fleet, and came
 off with loss, whereupon perhaps those *Danes*
 who were settl'd among the *East-Angles*, ere-
 cted with new hopes, violated the Peace which
 they had sworn to *Alfred*, who spent the next 886.
 year in repairing *London*, (besieging, faith *Sax. ann.*
Huntingdon) much ruin'd and unpeopl'd by
 the *Danes*; the *Londoners*, all but those who
 had bin led away Captive, soon return'd to
 thir dwellings, and *Ethred* Duke of *Mercia*, *Sim. Dun.*
 was by the King appointed thir Governour. 893.
 But after thirteen years respite of Peace, an- *Sax. ann.*
 other *Danish* Fleet of 250 Sail, from the *East*

part of *France* arriv'd at the mouth of a River in *East Kent*, call'd *Limen*, nigh to the great Wood *Andred*, famous for length and bredth; into that Wood they drew up thir Ships four mile from the Rivers mouth, and built a Fortress. After whom *Hæsten* with another *Danish* Fleet of Eighty Ships, entring the mouth of *Thames*, built a Fort at *Middleton*, the former Army remaining at a place call'd *Apeltre*. *Alfred* perceaving this, took of those *Danes* who dwelt in *Northumberland*, a new Oath of Fidelity, and of those in *Essex*, hostages, lest they should joyn, as they were wont, with thir Countrey-men newly arriv'd.

894.
Sax. ann. And by the next year, having got together his Forces, between either Army of the *Danes* encamp'd so, as to be ready for either of them, who first should happ'n to stir forth; Troops of Horse also he sent continually abroad, assisted by such as could be spar'd from strong places, wherever the Countries wanted them, to encounter forageing parties of the Enemy. The King also divided sometimes his whole Army, marching out with one part by turns, the other keeping intrencht. In conclusion, rowling up and down, both sides met at *Farnham* in *Surrey*; where the *Danes* by *Alfred*'s Horse Troops were put to flight, and crossing the *Thames* to a certain Iland neer *Coln* in *Essex*, or as *Camden* thinks, by *Colebrooke*, were besieg'd there by *Alfred* till provision fail'd the besiegers, another part staid behind with thir King wounded. Mean while *Alfred* preparing to reinforce the seige in *Colney*, the *Danes*

Danes of Northumberland breaking Faith, came by Sea to the East-Angles, and with a hundred Ships Coasting Southward, landed in Devonshire, and besieg'd Exeter; thether Alfred hasted with his Powers, except a Squadron of Welch that came to London: with whom the Citizens marching forth to Beamflet, where Haesten the Dane had built a strong Fort, and left a Garrison, while he himself with the main of his Army was enter'd far into the Countrey, luckily surprise the Fort, maister the Garrison, make prey of all they find there; thir Ships also they burnt or brought away with good booty, and many Prisners, among whom, the Wife and two Sons of Haesten were sent to the King, who forthwith set them at liberty. Whereupon Haesten gave Oath of Amitie and Hostages to the King; he in requital, whether freely, or by agreement, a summe of money. Nevertheless without regard of Faith giv'n, while Alfred was busied about Exeter, joyning with the other Danish Army, he built another Castle in Essex at Shoberie, thence marching Westward by the Thames, aided with Northumbrian and East-Anglish Danes, they came at length to Severn, pillaging all in thir way. But, Ethred, Ethelm, and Ethelnoth, the Kings Captains, with united Forces pitch'd nigh to them at Buttington, on the Severn Bank in Mont-camden, gomery-shire, the River running between, and there many weeks attended; the King mean while blocking up the Danes who besieg'd Exeter, having eat'n part of thir Horses, the

rest urg'd with hunger broke forth to thir fellows, who lay encamp't on the East-side of the River, and were all there discomfitted, with some loss of valiant men on the Kings party; the rest fled back to *Essex* and thir Fortress there. Then *Laf*, one of thir Leaders, gather'd before Winter a great Army of *Northumbrian* and *East-Anglian Danes*, who leaving thir Money, Ships, and Wives with the *East-Angles*, and marching day and night, sat down before a City in the West call'd *Wirheal* neer to *Chester*, and took it ere they could be overtak'n. The *English* after two daies seige hopeless to dislodge them, wasted the Countrey round to cut off from them all Provision, and departed. Soon after which, next year the *Danes* no longer able to hold *Wirheal*, destitute of Vittles, enter'd *North-Wales*; thence lad'n with spoils, part return'd into *Northumberland*, others to the *East-Angles* as far as *Essex*, where they feis'd on a small Illand call'd *Meresig*. And heer again the Annals Record them to besiege *Exeter*, but without coherence of fence or story. Others relate to this purpose, that returning by Sea from the Seige of *Exeter*, and in thir way landing on the Coast of *Suffex*, they of *Cichester* sallied out, and slew of them many hunderds, taking also some of thir Ships. The same year they who posseſſ'd *Meresig*, intending to winter thereabout, drew up thir Ships, some into the *Thames*, others into the River *Lee*, and on the Bank therof built a Castle twenty miles from *London*; to assault which the *Londoners* aid-ed

895.
Sax. An.

Sim. Dun.
Florent.

ed with other Forces march'd out the Summer following, but were soon put to flight, losing four of the Kings Captains. *Huntingdon* writes quite the contrary, that these four were *Danish* Captains, and the overthrow theirs: but little credit is to be plac'd in *Huntingdon* single. For the King therupon with his Forces, lay encamp't neerer the City, that the *Danes* might not infest them in time of Harvest; in the mean time, suttley devising to turn *Lee* stream several wayes; wherby the *Danish* Bottoms were left on dry ground: which they soon perceaving, march'd over Land to *Quatbrig* on the *Severn*, built a Fortress and winter'd there; while thir Ships left in *Lee*, were either brok'n or brought away by the *Londoners*; but thir Wives and Children they had left in safety with the *East-Angles*. The next year was Pestilent, and besides the common sort took away many great *Sax. an.* Earls, *Kelmond* in *Kent*, *Brithulf* in *Essex*, *Wulfred* in *Hampshire*, with many others; and to this Evil, the *Danes* of *Northumberland* and *East-Angles* ceas'd not to endamage the *West-Saxons*, especially by stealth, robbing on the South-shoar in certain long Gallies. But the King causing to be built others twice as long as ususually were built, and some of sixty or seventy Oars higher, swifter and steddier than such as were in use before either with *Danes* or *Frisons*, his own invention, some of these he sent out against six *Danish* Pirats, who had done much harm in the Ile of *Wight* and parts adjoyning. The bickering was doubtfull and

900.
After.

intricate, part on the water, part on the sands; not without loss of some Eminent Men on the English side. The Pirats at length were either slain or tak'n, two of them stranded; the men brought to *Winchester*, where the King then was, were executed by his Command; one of them escap'd to the *East-Angles*, her men much wounded; the same year not fewer than twenty of thir Ships perish'd on the South Coast with all thir Men. And *Rollo the Dane* or *Norman Landing* heer, as *Mat. West.* writes, though not in what part of the Iland, after an unsuccessful fight against those Forces which first oppos'd him, fail'd into *France*, and conquer'd the Country, since that time called *Normandy*. This is the summe of what pass'd in three years against the *Danes*, returning out of *France*, set down so perplexly by the *Saxon* Annalist, ill-guifted with utterance, as with much ado can be understood somtimes what is spok'n, whether meant of the *Danes*, or of the *Saxons*. After which troublesome time, *Alfred* enjoying three years of Peace, by him spent, as his manner was, not idly or voluptuously, but in all vertuous employments both of mind and body, becoming a Prince of his Renown, ended his daies in the year 900, the 51 of his Age, the 30th of his Reign, and was buried Regally at *Winchester*; he was born at a place call'd *Wanading* in *Barkshire*, his Mother *Osburga*, the Daughter of *Oftac* the Kings Cup-bearer, a *Goth* by Nation, and of Noble descent. He was of person comlier than all his Brethren, of pleasing tongue

tongue and gracefull behaviour, ready wit and memory ; yet through the fondness of his Parents towards him, had not bin taught to read till the twelfth year of his Age ; but the great desire of learning which was in him, soon appear'd, by his conning of *Saxon Poems* day and night, which with great attention he heard by others repeated. He was besides, excellent at Hunting, and the new Art then of Hawking, but more exemplary in devotion, having collected into a Book certain Prayers and Psalms, which he carried ever with him in his bosome to use on all occasions. He thirsted after all liberal knowledge, and oft complain'd that in his Youth he had no Teachers, in his middle Age so little vacancy from Wars, and the cares of his Kingdom, yet leisure he found sometimes, not only to learn much himself, but to communicate ther-of what he could to his People, by translating Books out of Latin into English, *Orosius*, *Boethius*, *Beda's History* and others, permitted none unlern'd to bear Office, either in Court or Common-wealth ; at twenty years of Age not yet Reigning, he took to Wife *Egelswitha* the Daughter of *Ethelred* a Mercian Earl. The Extremities which befell him in the sixt of his Reign, *Neothan* Abbot told him, were justly come upon him for neglecting in his younger dayes the complaints of such as injur'd and oppres'd repair'd to him, as then second person in the Kingdome for redress ; which neglect were it such indeed, were yet excusable in a Youth, through jollity of mind unwilling perhaps

perhaps to be detain'd long with sad and sorrowful Narrations ; but from the time of his undertaking Regal Charge, no man more patient in hearing Causes, more inquisitive in Examining, more exact in doing Justice, and providing good Laws, which are yet extant ; more severe in punishing unjust Judges or obstinate Offenders. Theeves especially and Robbers , to the terror of whom in crois wayes were hung upon a high Post certain Chains of Gold, as it were daring any one to take them thence ; so that Justice seem'd in his dayes not to flourish only, but to triumph : no man than hee more frugal of two precious things in Mans life, his Time and his Revenue ; no man wiser in the disposal of both. His Time, the day, and night, he distributed by the burning of certain Tapours into three equall portions : the one was for Devotion, the other for Publick or private Affairs, the third for bodily refreshment : how each hour past, he was put in mind by one who had that Office. His whole Annual Revenue, which his first care was should be justly his own, he divided into two equal parts ; the first he employ'd to Secular Uses, and subdivided those into three, the first to pay his Souldiers, Household-Servants and Guard, of which divided into three Bands, one attended monthly by turn ; the second was to pay his Architects and Workmen, whom he had got together of several Nations ; for he was also an Elegant Builder ; above the custome and conceit of *Englishmen* in those days : the third he had in readiness

readiness to receive or honour Strangers according to thir worth, who came from all parts to see him, and to live under him. The other equal part of his yearly wealth he dedicated to Religious uses, those of four sorts; the first to receive the poor, the second to the building and maintenance of two Monasteries, the third of a School, where he had perswaded the Sons of many Noblemen to study Sacred Knowledge and Liberal Arts, some say at Oxford; the fourth was for the releif of Foreign Churches, as far as India to the shrine of St Thomas, sending therethen Sigelm Bishop of Sherburn, who both return'd safe, and brought with him many rich Gems and Spices; gifts also and a Letter he receav'd from the Patriarch of Jerusalem, sent many to Rome, and for them receav'd Reliques. Thus far, and much more might be said of his Noble Mind, which render'd him the Miror of Princes; His Body was diseas'd in his youth with a great soreness in the Seige, and that ceasing of it self, with another inward pain of unknown cause, which held him by frequent fits to his dying day; yet not disinabl'd to sustain those many glorious labours of his Life both in Peace and War.

Edward the Elder.

Edward the Son of Alfred succeeded, in Learning not equal, in Power and Extent of Dominion, surpassing his Father. The beginning

*Hunting.*901.
Sax. Ann.

902.

905.
Sax. Ann.

ginning of his Reign had much disturbance by *Ethelwald* an ambitious young man, Son of the Kings Uncle, or Cosin German, or Brother, for his Genealogy is variously deliver'd. He vainly avouching to have equal right with *Edward* of Succession to the Crown, possess'd himself of *Winburne* in *Dorset*, and another Town diversly nam'd, giving out that there he would live or dye; but encompass'd with the Kings Forces at *Badburie* a place nigh, his heart failing him, he stole out by night, and fled to the *Danish* Army beyond *Humber*. The King sent after him, but not overtaking, found his Wife in the Town, whom he had married out of a Nunnery, and commanded her to be sent back thither. About this time the *Kentish* men, against a multitude of *Danish* Pirats, fought prosperously at a place call'd *Holme*, as *Hourden* records. *Ethelwald* aided by the *Northumbrians* with Shipping, three years after, sailing to the *East-Angles*, perswaded the *Danes* there to fall into the Kings Territory, who marching with him as far as *Crecklad*, and passing the *Thames* there, wasted as far beyond as they durst venture, and lad'n with spoils return'd home. The King with his Powers making speed after them, between the *Dike* and *Ouse*, suppos'd to be *Suffolk* and *Cambridge-shire*, as far as the Fenns Northward, laid wast all before him. Thence intending to return, he commanded that all his Army should follow him close without delay; but the *Kentish* men, though oft'n call'd upon, lagging behind, the *Danish* Army prevented them, and

joyn'd

joyn'd Battel with the King : where Duke *Sigulf* and Earle *Sigelm*, with many other of the Nobles were slain ; on the *Danes* part, *Eoric* thir King, and *Ethelwald* the Author of this War, with others of high note, and of them greater number, but with great ruin on both sides ; yet the *Danes* kept in thir Power the burying of thir slain. What ever followed upon this conflict, which we read not, the King two years after with the *Danes*, both of 907.
East-Angles, and *Northumberland* concluded *Sax. Ann.*
 Peace, which continu'd three years, by whomsoever brok'n : for at the end thereof King 910.
Sax. ann.
Edward raising great Forces out of *West-Sex*, and *Mercia*, sent them against the *Danes* beyond *Humber* ; where staying five weeks, they made great spoil and slaughter. The King offer'd them terms of Peace, but they rejecting all, enter'd with the next year into *Mercia*, rendring no less hostility than they had suffer'd ; but at *Tetnal* in *Staffordshire*, faith 911.
Sax. ann.
Florent, were by the *English* in a set Battel overthrown. King *Edward* then in *Kent*, had got together of Ships about a hundred Sail, others gon Southward, came back and met him. The *Danes* now supposing that his main Forces were upon the Sea, took liberty to rove and plunder up and down, as hope of prey led them, beyond *Severn*. The King *Ethelwerd.*
 guessing what might imbold'n them, sent before him the lightest of his Army to entertain them ; then following with the rest, set upon them in thir return over *Cantbrig* in *Gloster-shire*, and slew many thousands, among whom *Ecwils*,

Ecwils, Hafden, and Hinguar thir Kings, and many other harsh names in *Huntingdon*; the place also of this fight is variously writt'n by *Ethelwerd* and *Florent*, call'd *Wodensfield*. The

912.

Sax. Ann.

year following *Ethred* Duke of *Mercia*, to whom *Alfred* had giv'n *London*, with his Daughter in Marriage; now dying, King *Edward* resum'd that City, and *Oxford*, with the Countries adjoyning, into his own hands, and the year after, built, or much repair'd by his

913.

Sax. Ann.

Souldiers, the Town of *Hertford* on either side *Lee*, and leaving a sufficient number at the work, march'd about middle Summer, with the other part of his Forces into *Essex*, and encamp'd at *Maldon*, while his Souldiers built *Witham*; where a good part of the Countrey, subiect formerly to the *Danes*, yielded themselves to his Protection. Four years after

917.

Sax. Ann.

(*Florent* allows but one year) the *Danes* from *Leister* and *Northampton*, falling into *Oxfordshire*, committed much rapine, and in some Towns thereof great slaughter; while another party wasting *Hertfordshire*, met with other Fortune; for the Countrey-people inur'd now to such kind of Incursions, joyning stoutly together, fell upon the spoilers, recover'd thir own goods, with some booty from thir Enemies. About the same time *Elfled* the Kings Sister sent her Army of *Mercians* into

*Hunting.**Camden.*

Wales, who routed the *Welch*, took the Castle of *Bricnam-mere* by *Brecknock*, and brought away the Kings Wife of that Country, with other Prisners. Not long after she took *Derby* from the *Danes*, and the Castle by a sharp assault.

assault. But the year ensuing brought a new Fleet of *Danes* to *Lidwic* in *Devonshire*, under two Leaders, *Otter* and *Roald*; who sailing thence Westward about the Lands end, came up to the mouth of *Severn*; there landing wasted the *Welch Coast*, and *Irchenfield* part of *Herefordshire*; where they took *Kuneleac* a *British Bishop*, for whose Ransome King *Edward* gave forty pound, but the men of *Hereford* and *Glostershire* assembling, put them to flight; slaying *Roald* and the Brother of *Otter*, with many more, persu'd them to a Wood, and there beset, compel'd them to give hostages of present departure. The King with his Army sat not far off, securing from the South of *Severn* to *Avon*; so that openly they durst not, by night they twice ventur'd to Land; but found such welcome, that few of them came back; the rest anchord by a small Iland where many of them famish'd; then sailing to a place call'd *Deomed*, they cross'd into *Ireland*. The King with his Army went to *Buckingham*, staid there a month, and built two Castles or Forts on either Bank of *Ouse* ere his departing, and *Turkitel* a *Danish Leader*, with those of *Bedford* and *Northampton*, yeilded him subjection. Wherupon the next year he came with his Army to the Town of *Bedford*, took possession thereof, staid there a month, and gave order to build another part of the Town, on the South-side of *Ouse*. Thence the year following went again to *Maldon*, repair'd and fortifi'd the Town. *Turkitel* the *Dane* having small hope to thrive heer, where things with such

918.

Sax. Ann.

919.

Sax. Ann.

920.

Sax. Ann.

such prudence were manag'd against his interess, got leave of the King, with as many Voluntaries as would follow him, to pass into France. Early the next year King Edward redifi'd Tovechester, now Torchester ; and another City in the Annals call'd Wicingmere. Mean while the Danes of Leister and Northampton-shire ; not liking perhaps to be neighbour'd with Strong Towns, laid Seige to Torchester [but they within repelling the assault one whole day till supplies came] quitted the seige by night ; and persw'd close by the besieg'd, between Birnwud and Ailsbury were surpris'd, many of them made Prisners, and much of thir baggage lost. Other of the Danes at Huntingdon, aided from the East-Angles, finding that Castle not commodious, left it, and built another at Temsford, judging that place more opportune from whence to make thir excursions ; and soon after went forth with design to assail Bedford : but the Garrison issuing out, slew a great part of them, the rest fled. After this a great Army of them gather'd out of Mercia and the East-Angles, came and besieg'd the City call'd Wicingmere a whole day ; but finding it defended stoutly by them within, thence also departed, driving away much of thir Cattel : wherupon the English from Towns and Citties round about joyning Forces, laid Seige to the Town and Castle of Temsford, and by assault took both ; slew thir King with Toglea a Duke, and Mannan his Son an Earl, with all the rest there found ; who chose to die rather than yield. Encourag'd by this, the men

921.

Sax. ann.

of

of Kent, *Surrey*, and part of *Essex*, enterprise the Seige of *Colchester*, nor gave over till they won it, facking the Town, and putting to Sword all the *Danes* therein, except som who escap'd over the Wall. To the succour of these, a great number of *Danes* inhabiting Ports and other Towns in the *East-Angles*, united thir Force; but coming too late, as in revenge beleaguer'd *Maldon*; but that Town also timely releiv'd, they departed, not only frustrate of thir design, but so hotly persu'd, that many thousands of them lost thir lives in the flight. Forthwith King *Edward* with his *West-Saxons* went to *Pasham* upon *Ouse*, there to guard the passage, while others were building a stone Wall about *Torchester*; to him there Earl *Thurfert*, and other Lord *Danes*, with thir Army thereabout as far as *Weolnd*, came and submitted. Wherat the Kings Soldiers joyfully cry'd ont to be dismisse'st home: therfore with another part of them he entered *Huntingdon*, and repair'd it, where breaches had bin made; all the people thereabout returning to obedience. The like was done at *Colchester* by the next remove of his Army, after which both *East* and *West-Angles*, and the *Danish* Forces among them, yeilded to the King, swearing Allegiance to him both by Sea and Land: the Army also of *Danes* at *Grantbrig*, surrendring themselves took the same Oath. The summer following he came with his Army to *Stamford*, built a Castle there 922. Six. An: on the South-side of the River, where all the People of those quarters acknowledg'd him

Supream. During his abode there, *Elfled* his Sister a martial Woeman, who after her Husbands death would no more marry, but gave her self to Publick Affairs, repairing and fortifying many Towns, warring somtimes, dy'd at *Tamworth* the Cheif Seat of *Mercia*, wherof by guift of *Alfred* her Father, she was Lady or Queen; whereby that whole Nation became obedient to King *Edward*, as did also *North-Wales*, with *Howel*, *Cledaucus*, and *Jeothwell* thir Kings. Thence passing to *Nottingham*, he enter'd and repair'd the Town, plac'd there part *English*, part *Danes*, and receav'd fealty from all in *Mercia* of either Nation. The next Autumn, coming with his Army into *Cheshire*, he built and fortifi'd *Thelwel*; and while he staid there, call'd another Army out of *Mercia*, which he sent to repair and fortifie *Manchester*.

923.

Sax. ann.

924.

Sax. ann.

About Midsummer following he march'd again to *Nottingham*, built a Town over against it on the South-side of that River, and with a Bridge joyn'd them both; thence journied to a place call'd *Bedecanwillan* in *Pictland*; there also built and fenc'd a City on the Borders, where the King of *Scots* did him Honour as to his Sovran, together with the whole *Scotish* Nation; the like did *Reginald* and the Son of *Eadulf*, *Danish* Princes, with all the *Northumbrians*, both *English*, and *Danes*. The King also of a People thereabout call'd *Streatgledwalli* (the *North Welch*, as *Camden* thinks, of *Strat-Cluid* in *Denbigh-shire*, perhaps rather the *British* of *Cumberland*) did him homage, and

and not undeserv'd. For Buchanan himself confesses, that this King Edward with a small number of men compar'd to his Enemies, overthrew in a great Battel, the whole United Power both of *Scots* and *Danes*, slew most of the *Scotish* Nobility, and forc'd *Malcolm*, whom *Constantine* the *Scotch* King had made General, and design'd Heir of his Crown, to save himself by flight sore wounded. Of the *English*, he makes *Athelstan* the Son of *Edward* Chief Leader; and so far seems to confound Times and Actions, as to make this Battel the same with that fought by *Athelstan*, about twenty four years after at *Brunnford*, against *Anlaf* and *Constantine*, whereof hereafter. But here Buchanan takes occasion to inveigh against the *English* Writers, upbraiding them with ignorance, who affirm *A. Buch. L. 6.* *thelstan* to have bin Supream King of *Britan*, *Constantine* the *Scotish* King with others to have held of him: and denies that in the Annals of *Marianus Scotus*, any mention is to be found therof; which I shall not stand much to contradict, for in *Marianus*, whether by Surname or by Nation *Scotus*, will be found as little mention of any other *Scotish* affairs, till the time of King *Dunchad* slain by *Macketad*, or *Mackbeth*, in the year 1040 which gives cause of suspicion, that the Affairs of *Scotland* before that time were so obscure as to be unknown to thir own Countrey-man, who liv'd and wrote his Chronicle not long after. But King *Edward* thus nobly doing, and thus honour'd, the year following dy'd at *Farendon*; *Sax. ann.* 925.

Hunting. a builder and restorer eev'n in War, not a destroyer of his Land. He had by several Wives many Children; his Eldest Daughter *Edgith* he gave in marriage to *Charles King of France*, Grand-Child of *Charles the Bald* above mention'd; of the rest in place convenient. His Laws are yet to be seen. He was buried at *Winchester*, in the Monastery by *Alfred* his Father. And a few days after him dy'd *Ethelwred* his Eldest Son, the Heir of his Crown. He had the whole Iland in subjection, yet so *sim. Dun.* as petty Kings Reign'd under him. In *Northumberland*, after *Ecbert* whom the *Danes* had set up, and the *Northumbrians* yet unruly under thir Yoke, at the end of six years had expell'd, one *Ricsig* was set up King, and bore the name three years; then another *Ecbert*, and *Guthred*; the latter, if we beleeye Legends, of a Servant made King by command of *St Cudbert*, in a Vision; and enjoyn'd by another Vision of the same Saint, to pay well for his Royalty many Lands and Privileges to his Church and Monastery. But now to the Story.

Athelstan.

A *Thelstan* next in Age to *Ethehard* his Brother, who deceas'd untimely few dayes before, though born of a Concubine, yet for the great appearance of many Vertues in him, and his Brethren being yet under Age, was exalted to the Throne, at *Kingstone upon Thames*,

Thames, and by his Fathers last Will, saith *Malmsbury*, yet not without some opposition of one *Alfred* and his Accomplices ; who not likeing he should Reign, had conspir'd to seise on him after his Fathers death, and to put out his Eyes. But the Conspiratours discover'd, and *Alfred* denying the Plot, was sent to *Rome*, to assert his innocence before the Pope ; where taking his Oath on the Altar, he fell down immediatly, and carried out by his Servants, three daies after dy'd. Mean while beyond *Humber*, the *Danes*, though much aw'd were not idle. *Inguald* one of thir Kings took possession of *York*. *Sitric* who som years before had slain *Niel* his Brother, by force took *Davenport* in *Cheshire*; and how-ever he defended these doings, grew so considerable, that *Athelstan* with great Solemnity gave him his Sister *Edgith* to Wife : but he enjoy'd her not long, dying ere the years end, nor his Sons *Anlaf* and *Guthfert* the King-dome, driv'n out the next year by *Athelstan*; not unjustly saith *Huntingdon*, as being first raisers of the War. *Simeon* calls him *Gudfrida* British King, whom *Athelstan* this year drove out of his Kingdome ; and perhaps they were both one, the name and time not much differ-ing, the place only mistak'n. *Malmsbury* dif-fers in the name also, calling him *Aldulf* a cer-tain Rebel. Them also I wish as much mi-stak'n, who write that *Athelstan*, jealous of his younger Brother *Edwin's* towardly Ver-tues, left added to the right of Birth, they might some time or other call in question his

*Malmsb.**Sim. Dan.**Malmsb.
Mat. West.*

927.

Sax. ann.

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933. illegitimate precedence, caus'd him to be drown'd in the Sea; expos'd, some say, with one Servant in a rott'n Bark, without Sail or Oar; where the youth far off Land, and in rough weather despairing, threw himself over-board; the Servant more patient, got to Land and reported the success. But this *Malmsbury* confesses to be sung in old Songs, not read in warrantable Authors: and *Huntingdon* speaks as of a sad accident to *Athelstan*, that he lost his Brother *Edwin* by Sea; far the more credible, in that *Athelstan*, as is writ'n by all, tenderly lov'd and bred up the rest of his Brethren, of whom he had no less cause to be jealous. And the year following he pro-

934. sper'd better than from so foul a Fact, passing into *Scotland* with great Puissance, both by Sea and Land, and chaceing his Enemies before him, by Land as far as *Dunfeoder*, and *Wertermore*, by Sea as far as *Cathness*. The cause of this Expedition, saith *Malmsbury*, was to demand *Gudfert* the Son of *Sitric*, thether fled, though not deny'd at length by *Constantine*, who with *Eugenius* King of *Cumberland*, at a place call'd *Dacor* or *Dacre* in that Shire, surrendered himself and each his Kingdom to *Athelstan*, who brought back with him for hostage the Son of *Constantine*. But *Gudfert* escaping in the mean while out of *Scotland*, and *Constantine* exasperated by this Invasion, per-

Florent. swaded *Anlaf* the other Son of *Sitric* then fled into *Ireland*, others write *Anlaf* King of *Ireland* and the *Iles*, his Son in Law, with 615 Ships, and the King of *Cumberland* with other Forces,

Florent.

Sim. Dun.

Forces, to his aid. This within four years effected, they enter'd *England* by *Humber*, and *Sax. Ann.* fought with *Athelstan* at a place call'd *Wen-Malmsb.* 938.
dune, others term it *Brunanburg*, others *Brune-ford*, which *Ingulf* places beyond *Humber*, *Cam-den* in *Glendale* of *Northumberland* on the *Scotch Borders*; the bloodiest fight, say Authors, that ever this Island saw, to describe which, the *Saxon Annalist* wont to be sober and succinct, whether the same or another writer, now labouring under the weight of his Argument, and over-charg'd, runs on a sudden into such extravagant Fancies and Metaphors, as bear him quite beside the scope of being understood. *Huntingdon*, though himself peccant enough in this kind, transcribes him word for word as a pastime to his Readers. I shall only summe up what of him I can attain, in usual Language. The Battel was fought eagerly from morning till night; some fell of King *Edwards* old Army, try'd in many a Battel before; but on the other side great multitudes, the rest fled to thir Ships. Five Kings, and seven of *Anlaf's* Chief Captains were slain on the place, with *Froda* a *Norman* Leader; *Constantine* escap'd home, but lost his Son in the fight, if I understand my Author; *Anlaf* by Sea to *Dublin*, with a small remainder of his great Hoast. *Malmsbury* relates this War, adding many circumstances after this manner. That *Anlaf* joyning with *Constantine* and the whole Power of *Scorland*, besides those which he brought with him out of *Ireland*, came on far Southwards, till *Athelstan* who had retir'd on set

purpose to be the surer of his Enemies, enclosed from all succour and retreat, met him at *Bruneford*. *Anlaf* perceiving the valour and resolution of *Athelstan*, and mistrusting his own Forces though numerous, resolv'd first to spie in what posture his Enemies lay: and imitating perhaps what he heard attempted by King *Alfred* the Age before, in the habit of a Musician, got access by his Lute and Voice to the Kings Tent, there playing both the Minstrel and the Spie: then towards Evening dismiss'd, he was observ'd by one who had bin his Soldier and well knew him, viewing earnestly the Kings Tent, and what approaches lay about it, then in the twilight to depart. The Souldier forthwith acquaints the King, and by him blamed for letting go his Enemy, answer'd, that he had giv'n first his military Oath to *Anlaf*, whom if he had betray'd, the King might suspect him of like treasonous mind towards himself; which to disprove, he advis'd him to remove his Tent a good distance off; and so don, it happ'd that a Bishop with his Retinue coming that night to the Army, pitch'd his Tent in the same place, from whence the King had remov'd. *Anlaf* coming by night as he had design'd, to assault the Camp, and especially the Kings Tent, finding there the Bishop in stead, slew him with all his Followers. *Athelstan* took the Alarm, and as it seems, was not found so unprovided, but that the day now appearing, he put his men in order, and maintain'd the fight till Evening; wherin *Constantine* himself was slain with five other King, and twelve Earls,

Earls, the Annals were content with seav'n, in the rest not disagreeing. *Ingulf* Abbot of *Croyland* from the authority of *Turketul* a principal Leader in this Battel, relates it more at large to this effect : that *Athelfstan* above a mile distant from the place where execution was don upon the Bishop and his Supplies, allarm'd at the noise, came down by break of day, upon *Anlaf* and his Army, overwatch't and wearied now with the slaughter they had made, and somthing out of order, yet in two main Battels. The King therefore in like manner dividing, led the one part, consisting most of *West-Saxons*, against *Anlaf* with his *Danes* and *Irish*, committing the other to his Chancellor *Turketul*, with the *Mercians* and *Londoners* against *Constantine* and his *Scots*. The showr of Arrows and Darts over-pass't, both Battels attack'd each other with a close and terrible engagement, for a long space neither side giving ground. Till the Chancellor *Turketul*, a man of great stature and strength, taking with him a few *Londoners* of select valour, and *Sin-gin* who led the *Worstershire* men, a Captain of undaunted courage, broke into the thickest, making his way first through the *Picts* and *Orkeneries*, then through the *Cumbrians* and *Scots*, and came at length where *Constantine* himself fought, unhors'd him, and us'd all means to take him alive ; but the *Scots* valiantly defending thir King, and laying load upon *Turketul*, which the goodness of his Armour well endur'd, he had yet bin beat'n down, had not *Sin-gin* his faithfull second at the same time slain

Con-

Constantine; which once known, *Anlaf* and the whole Army betook ther : to flight, wheroft a huge multitude fell by the Sword. This *Turke-tul* not long after leaving worldly Affairs, became Abbot of *Croyland*, which at his own cost he had repair'd, from *Danish* ruins, and left there this memorial of his former actions. *Ethelstan* with his Brother *Edmund* victorious, thence turning into *Wales*, with much more ease vanquish'd *Ludwal* the King, and possest his Land. But *Malmsbury* writes, that commiserating human chance, as he displac'd, so he restor'd both him and *Constantine* to their Regal State ; for the surrender of King *Constantine* hath bin above spok'n of. However the *Welch* did him homage at the City of *Hereford*, and covnanted yearly payment of Gold 20 pound, of Silver 300, of *Oxen* 25 thousand, besides Hunting Dogs and Hawks. He also took *Exeter* from the *Cornish Britans*, who till that time had equal right there with the *English*, and bounded them with the River *Tamar*, as the other *Brittish* with *Wey*. Thus dreaded of his Enemies, and renown'd far and neer, three years after he dy'd at *Gloster*, and was buried with many Trophies at *Malmsbury*, where he had caus'd to be laid his two Colin Germans, *Elwin* and *Ethelstan*, both slain in the Battel against *Anlaf*. He was thirty years old at his coming to the Crown, mature in wisdom from his Childhood, comly of person and behaviour ; so that *Alfred* his Grandfather in blessing him was wont to pray he might live to have the Kingdom, and put him yet a

Child

941.

Sax. Ann.
Malmsb.
Ingulf.

Child into Souldiers habit. He had his breeding in the Court of *Elfled* his Aunt, of whose Vertues more than female we have related, sufficient to evince that his Mother, though said to be no wedded Wife, was yet such of parentage and worth, as the Royal Line disdain'd not, though the Song went in *Malmsburyes* daies (for it seems he refus'd not the authority of Ballats for want of better) that his Mother was a Farmers Daughter, but of excellent feature ; who dreamt one night she brought forth a Moon that should enlight'n the whole Land : which the Kings Nurse hearing of, took her home and bred up Courtly ; that the King coming one day to visit his Nurse, saw there this Damsel, lik'd her, and by earnest suit prevailing, had by her this famous *Athelstan*, a bounteous, just and affable King, as *Malmsbury* sets him forth ; nor less honour'd abroad by Foren Kings, who sought his Friendship by great guifts or affinity ; that *Harold* King of *Noricum* sent him a Ship, whose Prow was of Gold, Sails Purple, and other golden things, the more to be wonder'd at, sent from *Noricum*, whether meant *Norway* or *Bavaria*, the one place so far from such superfluity of wealth, the other from all Sea : the Embassadors were *Helgrim* and *Offrid*, who found the King at *York*. His Sisters he gave in marriage to greatest Princes, *Elgif* to *Otho* Son of *Henry* the Emperour, *Egdith* to a certain Duke about the *Alpes*, *Edgiv* to *Ludwig* King of *Aquitain*, sprung of *Charles* the Great, *Etbilda* to *Hugo* King of *France*, who sent *Alduif*

dulf Son of *Baldwin*, Earl of *Flanders*, to obtain her. From all these great Suitors, especially from the Emperour and King of *France* came rich presents, Horses of excellent breed, gorgeous Trappings and Armour, Reliques, Jewels, Odors, Vessels of Onyx, and other precious things, which I leave poetically describ'd in *Malmsbury*, tak'n, as he confesses, out of an old versifier, some of whose Verses he recites. The only blemish left upon him, was the exposing of his Brother *Edwin*, who disavow'd by Oath the treason wheroft he was accus'd, and implor'd an equal hearing. But these were Songs, as before hath bin said, which add also that *Athelstan*, his anger over, soon repented of the Fact, and put to death his Cup-bearer, who had induc't him to suspect and expose his Brother, put in mind by a word falling from the Cup-bearers own mouth, who slipping one day as he bore the Kings Cup, and recovering himself on the other leg, said aloud, fatally as to him it proved, One Brother helps the other. Which words the King laying to heart, and pondring how ill he had done to make away his Brother, aveng'd himself first on the adviser of that Fact, took on him seav'n years penance, and as *Mat. West.* faith, built two Monasteries for the Soul of his Brother. His Laws are extant among the Laws of other *Saxon* Kings to this day.

Edmund.

Edmund.

Edmund not above eighteen years old succeeded his Brother *Athelstan*, in courage *Sax. Ann.* 942. not inferiour. For in the second of his Reign he free'd *Mercia* of the *Danes* that remain'd there, and took from them the Citties of *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, *Stamford*, *Darby*, and *Leicester*, where they were plac'd by King *Edward*, but it seems gave not good proof of thir fidelity. *Simeon* writes that *Anlaf* setting forth from *York*, and having wasted Southward as far as *Northampton*, was met by *Edmund* at *Leicester*; but that e're the Battails joyn'd, Peace was made between them by *Odo* and *Wulstan* the two Arch-bishops, with conversion of *Anlaf*; for the same year *Edmund* receav'd at the Font-stone this or another *Anlaf*, as faith *Huntingdon*, not him spok'n of before, who dy'd this year (so uncertain they are in the Story of these times also) and held *Reginald* another King of the *Northumbers*, while the Bishop confirm'd him: thir limits were divided North and South by *Watling-street*. But spiritual kindred little avail'd to keep peace between them, whoever gave the cause; for we read him two years after driving *Anlaf* (whom the Annals now first call *the Son of Sitric*) and *Suthfrid* Son of *Reginald* out of *Northumberland*, taking the whole Country into subjection. *Edmund* the next year harras'd *Cumberland*, then gave it to *Malcolm* *Sax. ann.* 944.

945. Malcolm King of Scots, thereby bound to assist

Sax. Ann. him in his Wars, both by Sea and Land; Mat. West. adds that in this action Edmund had the aid of Leolin Prince of Northwales, against Dummail the Cumbrian King, him depriving of his Kingdome, and his two Sons of their life.

946. But the year after he himself by strange

Sax. An. accident came to an untimely death, feasting with his Nobles on St Austin's Day at Puclekerke in Gloucestershire, to celebrate the memory Camd. of his first converting the Saxons. He spil'd Leof a noted Theef, whom he had banish'd, sitting among his Guests; whereat transported with too much vehemence of Spirit, though in a just cause, riseing from the Table he ran upon the Theef, and catching his hair, pull'd him to the ground. The Theef who doubted from such handling no less than his death intended, thought to die not unreveng'd; and with a short Dagger strook the King, who still laid at him, and little expected such assassination, mortally into the brest. The matter was done in a moment, ere men set at Table could turn them, or imagine at first what the stir meant, till perceiving the King deadly wounded, they flew upon the murderer and hew'd him to peeces; who like a wild Beast at abbay, seeing himself surrounded, desperately laid about him, wounding some in his fall. The King was buried at Glaston, wher. of Dunstan was then Abbot, his Laws yet remain to be seen among the Laws of other Saxon Kings.

Edred.

Edred the third Brother of *Athelstan*, the Sons of *Edmund* being yet but Children, next Reign'd, not degenerating from his worthy predecessors, and Crown'd at *Kingston*. *Northumberland* he thoroughly subdu'd, the *Scots* without refusal swore him Allegiance; yet the *Northumbrians*, ever of doubtful Faith, soon after chose to themselvs one *Eric a Dane*. *Huntingdon* still haunts us with this *Anlaf* (of whom we gladly would have bin ridd) and will have him before *Eric* recall'd once more and Reign four years, then again put to his shifts. But *Edred* entring into *Northumberland*, and with spoils returning, *Eric* the King fell upon his rear. *Edred* turning about, both shook off the Enemy, and prepar'd to make a second inroad: which the *Northumbrians* dreading rejected *Eric*, slew *Amancus* the Son 950. Sim. Dun. of *Anlaf*, and with many presents appeasing *Edred*, submitted again to his Government; nor from that time had Kings, but were govern'd by Earls, of whom *Oswulf* was the first. About this time *Wulstan* Arch-bishop of *York*, accus'd to have slain certain men of *Thetford* in revenge of thir Abbot whom the Townsmen had slain, was committed by the King to close Custody; but soon after enlarg'd, was restor'd to his place. *Malmsbury* writes that his Crime was to have conniv'd at the revolt of his Countreymen: But King *Edred* two years 953. Sim. Dun.

955. years after sick'ning in the flower of his youth,
Sim. Dun. dy'd much lamented, and was buried at *Win-*
chester.

Edwi.

Ethelwerd. **E**dwi the Son of *Edmund* now come to Age, after his Uncle *Edred*'s death took on him the Government, and was Crown'd at *Kingston*. His lovely person surnamed him the Fair, his actions are diversly reported, by *Huntingdon* not thought illaudable. But *Malmsbury* and such as follow him write far otherwise, that he married or kept as Concubine, his near Kinswoman, some say both her and her Daughter; so inordinately giv'n to his pleasure, that on the very day of his Coronation, he abruptly withdrew himself from the Company of his Peers, whether in Banquet or Consultation, to sit wantoning in the Chamber with this *Algiva*, so was her name, who had such power over him. Whereat his Barons offended, sent Bishop *Dunstan*, the boldest among them, to request his return: he going to the Chamber, not only interrupted his dalliance and rebuk'd the Lady, but taking him by the hand, between force and persuasion brought him back to his Nobles. The King highly displeas'd, and instigated perhaps by her who was so prevalent with him, not long after sent *Dunstan* into banishment, caus'd his Monastery to be rifl'd, and became an Enemy to all Monks. Whereupon *Odo* Arch-bishop

Mat. West.

956:

bishop of *Canterbury* pronounc't a séparation or divorce of the King from *Algiva*. But that which most incited *William of Malmsbury* against him, he gave that Monastery to be dwelt in by Secular Priests, or, to use his own phrase, made it a Stable of Clerks; at length these affronts done to the Church were so resented by the People, that the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians* revolted from him, and set up *Edgar* his Brother, leaving to *Edwi the West-Hoved.* *Sax. Ann.* 957. Saxons only, bounded by the River *Thames*; with grief whereof, as is thought, he soon after ended his dayes, and was buried at *Winchester.* 958. *Mat. Wif.* Mean while *Elsin* Bishop of that place after the death of *Odo*, ascending by Simony to the Chair of *Canterbury*, and going to *Rome* the same year for his Pall, was frozen to death in the *Alps.*

Edgar.

Edgar by his Brothers death now King of all England at sixteen years of Age, called home *Dunstan* out of *Flanders*, where he liv'd in Exile. This King had no Warr all his Reign; yet alwayes well prepar'd for Warr, govern'd the Kingdom in great Peace, Honour, and Prosperity, gaining thence the Surname of Peaceable, much extoll'd for Justice, Clemency, and all Kingly Vertues, the more, ye may be sure, by Monks, for his building so many Monasteries; as some write, every year one: for he much favour'd the *Monks* *Malmsb.* *Mat. Wif.*

Monks against Secular Priests, who in the time of *Eadw* had got possession in most of thir Covents. His care and wisdome was great in guarding the Coast round with stout ships, to the number of three thousand six hundred, *Mat. West.* reck'ns them four thousand eight hundred, divided into four Squadrons, to sail to and fro about the four quarters of the Land, meeting each other ; the first of one thousand two hundred sail from East to West, the second of as many from West to East, the third and fourth between North and South, himself in the Summer time with his Fleet. Thus he kept out wisely the force of Strangers, and prevented Forein War ; but by thir too frequent resort hither in time of Peace, and his too much favouring them, he let in thir Vices unaware. Thence the People, saith *Malmesbury*, learnt of the Out-landish *Saxons* rudeness, of the *Flemish* daintiness and softnes; of the *Danes* drunk'ness ; though I doubt these Vices are as naturally home-bred heer as in any of those Countries. Yet in the Winter and Spring time he usually rode the Circuit as a Judge Itinerant through all his Provinces, to see Justice well administerd, and the poor not oppress'd. Theeves and Robbers he routed almost out of the Land, and wild Beasts of prey altogether ; enjoining *Lud-wal* King of *Wales* to pay the yearly Tribute of three hundred Wolves, which he did for two years together, till the third year no more were to be found, nor ever after ; but his Laws may be read yet extant. Whatever was the

the cause he was not Crown'd till the 30th of his Age, but then with great splendour and magnificence at the City of Bath, in the Feast of Pentecost. This year dy'd Swarling a Monk of Croyland, in the 142 year of his Age, and another soon after him in the 115th in that Fen-ny and wattrish Air, the more remarkable. King Edgar the next year went to Chester, and summoning to his Court there all the Kings that held of him, took Homage of them : thir names are Kened King of Scots, Malcolm of Cumberland, Maccuse of the Iles, five of Wales, Dufwal, Humal, Grifith, Jacob, Judethil, these he had in such aw, that going one day into a Gally, he caus'd them to take each man his Oar, and row him down the River Dee, while he himself sat at the Stern : which might be done in meriment and easily obey'd ; if with a serious brow, discover'd rather vain glory, and insulting haughtiness, than moderation of mind. And that he did it seriously tryumphing, appears by his words then utter'd, That his Successors might then glory to be Kings of England, when they had such Honour done them. And perhaps the Divine Power was displeas'd with him for taking too much Honour to himself ; since we read that the year following he was tak'n out of this life by sickness in the heighth of his Glory and the prime of his Age, buried at Glaston Abby. The same year, as Mat. West. relates, he gave to Kened the Scottish King, many rich presents, and the whole Countrey of Laudian, or Lothien, to hold of him on condition that he and his Suc-

975.

cessors should repair to the *English* Court at high Festivals when the King sat Crown'd; gave him also many lodging places by the way, which till the days of *Henry the Second* were still held by the Kings of *Scotland*. He was of Stature not tall, of body slender, yet so well made, that in strength he chose to contend with such as were thought strongest, and dislik'd nothing more than that they should spare him for respect or fear to hurt him. *Kened* King of *Scots* then in the Court of *Edgar*, sitting one day at Table was heard to say jestingly among his Servants, he wonder'd how so many Provinces could be held in subjection by such a little dapper man : His words were brought to the Kings Ear; he sends for *Kenedas* about some private business, and in talk drawing him forth to a secret place, takes from under his garment two Swords which he had brought with him, gave one of them to *Kened*; and now saith he, it shall be try'd which ought to be the subject; for it is shamefull for a King to boast at Table, and shrink in fight. *Kened* much abash'd fell presently at his Feet, and besought him to pardon what he had simply spok'n, no way intended to his dishonour or disparagement : wherewith the King was satisfy'd. *Camden* in his description of *Ireland*, cites a Charter of King *Edgar*, wherein it appears, he had in subjection all the Kingdomes of the Iles as far as *Norway*, and had subdu'd the greatest part of *Ireland*, with the City of *Dublin*: but of this other Writers make no mention. In his youth having

ing heard of *Elfrida*, Daughter to *Ordgar Duke of Devonshire*, much commended for her Beauty, he sent Earl *Athelwold*, whose loyalty he trusted most, to see her; intending, if she were found such as answer'd report, to demand her in marriage. He at the first view tak'n with her presence, disloyally, as it often happ's in such employments, began to sue for himself; and with consent of her Parents obtain'd her. Returning therefore with scarce an ordinary commendation of her Feature, he easily took off the Kings mind, soon diverted another way. But the matter coming to light how *Athelwold* had forestall'd the King, and *Elfrida*'s Beauty more and more spok'n of, the King now heated not only with a relapse of Love, but with a deep sense of the abuse, yet dissembling his disturbance, pleasantly told the Earl, what day he meant to come and visit him and his fair Wife. The Earl seemingly assur'd his welcome, but in the mean while acquainting his Wife, earnestly advis'd her to deform her self, what she might, either in dress or otherwise, lest the King, whose amorous inclination was not unknown, should chance to be attracted. She who by this time was not ignorant, how *Athelwold* had step'd between her and the King, against his coming arraies her self richly, using what ever Art she could devise might render her the more amiable; and it took effect. For the King inflam'd with her love, the more for that he had bin so long defrauded and rob'd of her, resolv'd not only to recover his

intercepted right, but to punish the interloper of his destin'd Spouse, and appointing with him as was usual, a day of hunting, drawn aside in a Forest, now call'd *Harewood*, smote him through with a Dart. Some censure this Act as cruel and tyrannical, but consider'd well, it may be judg'd more favourably, and that no man of sensible Spirit, but in his place, without extraordinary perfection, would have done the like : for next to Life what worse Treason could have bin committed against him ? It chanc'd that the Earls base Son coming by upon the Fact, the King sternly ask'd him how he lik'd this Game ; he submisly answering, that whatsoever pleas'd the King, must not displease him ; the King return'd to his wonted temper, took an affection to the Youth, and ever after highly favour'd him, making amends in the Son for what he had done to the Father. *Elfrida* forthwith he took to Wife, who to expiate her former Husbands death, though therin she had no hand, cover'd the place of his bloodshed with a Monastery of Nuns to sing over him. Another fault is laid to his charge, no way excusable, that he took a Virgin *Wilfrida* by force out of the Nunnery, where she was plac'd by her friends to avoid his persuit, and kept her as his Concubine ; but liv'd not obstinately in the offence; for sharply reprov'd by *Dunstan* he submitted to seven years penance, and for that time to want his Coronation : But why he had it not before, is left unwritt'n. Another story there goes of *Edgar*, fitter for a Novel than a History;

ry; but as I find it in *Malmsbury*, so I relate it. While he was yet unmarried, in his youth he abstain'd not from Woemen, and coming on a day to *Andover*, caus'd a Dukes Daughter there dwelling, reported rare of Beauty, to be brought to him. The Mother not dareing flatly to deny, yet abhorring that her Daughter should be so deflour'd, at fit time of night sent in her attire, one of her waiting Maids; a Maid it seems not unhansom nor unwitty; who supply'd the place of her young Lady. Night paſſ'd, the Maid going to rise, but day-light scarce yet appearing, was by the King askt why ſhe made ſuch haſt, ſhe answer'd, to do the work which her Lady had ſet her; at which the King wondring, and with much ado staying her to unfold the riddle, for he took her to be the Dukes Daughter, ſhe falling at his Feet besought him, that ſince at the command of her Lady ſhe came to his Bed, and was enjoy'd by him, he would be pleas'd in recompence to ſet her free from the hard ſervice of her Mistress. The King a while standing in a ſtudy whether he had beſt be angry or not, at length turning all to a jest, took the Maid away with him, advanc'd her above her Lady, lov'd her and accompanied with her only, till he married *Elfrida*. These only are his faults upon Record, rather to be wonder'd how they were ſo few, and ſo ſoon left, he coming at fifteen to the Licence of a Scepter; and that his Vertues were ſo many and ſo mature, he dying before the Age wherein Wisdom can in others attain to any ripenes; however with

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him dy'd all the *Saxon* Glory. From henceforth nothing is to be heard of but thir decline and ruin under a double Conquest, and the causes foregoing ; which, not to blur or taint the praises of thir former Actions and Liberty well defended , shall stand severally related, and will be more than long enough for another Book,

The End of the Fifth Book.

THE

THE HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

BOOK VI.

Edward the Younger.

Edward the Eldest Son of *Edgar* by *Egelfleda* his first Wife, the Daughter of Duke *Ordmer*, was according to Right and his Fathers Will, plac'd in the Throne; *Elfrida* his second Wife, and her Faction only repineing, who labour'd to have had her Son *Ethelred* a Child of seven years, preferr'd before him; that she under that pretence might have rul'd all. Mean while Comets were seen in Heav'n, portending not Famin only, which follow'd the next year, but the troubl'd State of the whole Realm not long after to ensue. The Troubles begun in

*Flor. et
Sim. Dun.*

in *Edw.*'s dayes, between Monks and Secular Priests, now reviv'd and drew on either side many of the Nobles into parties. For *Elsere* Duke of the *Mercians*, with many other Peers, corrupted as is said with guifts, drove the Monks out of those Monasteries where *Edgar* had plac'd them, and in thir stead put Secular Priests with thir Wives. But *Ethelwin* Duke of *East-Angles*, with his Brother *Elfwold*, and Earl *Britnoth* oppos'd them, and gathering an Army defended the Abbies of *East-Angles* from such intruders. To appease these Tu-mults, a Synod was call'd at *Winchester*, and nothing there concluded, a General Council both of Nobles and Prelates, was held at *Cahn* in *Wiltshire*, where while the dispute was hot, but chiefly against *Dunstan*, the room wherein they sat fell upon thir heads, killing some, maiming others, *Dunstan* only escaping upona beam that fell not; and the King absent by reason of his tender Age. This accident quieted the Controversie, and brought both parts to hold with *Dunstan* and the Monks. Mean while the King addicted to a Religious Life, and of a mild Spirit, simply permitted all things to the ambitious will of his Step-mother and her Son *Ethelred*: to whom she pleas'd that the name only of King was wanting, practis'd thenceforth to remove King *Edward* out of the way; which in this manner she brought about. *Edward* on a day wearied with hunting, thirsty and alone, while his attendance follow'd the Dogs, hearing that *Ethelred* and his mother lodg'd at *Corvesgate* (*Corfe*

(Corfe Castle, saith *Camden*, in the Ile of Purbeck) innocently went thither. She with all shew of kindness welcoming him, commanded drink to be brought forth, for it seems he lighted not from his Horse; and while he was drinking, caus'd one of her Servants, privately before instructed, to stab him with a poignard. The poor Youth who little expected such unkindness there, turning speedily the Reins, fled bleeding; till through loss of blood falling from his Horse, and expiring, yet held with one foot in the Stirrop, he was dragg'd along the way, trac'd by his blood, and buried without honour at *Werham*, having reigned about three years: but the place of his burial not long after grew famous for Miracles. 978. *Malmsb.*
After which by Duke *Elfer* (who, as *Malmsbury* faith, had a hand in his death) he was Royally enterr'd at *Skepton*, or *Shaftsbury*. The murdress *Elfrida* at length repenting spent the residue of her dayes in sorrow and great penance.

Ethelred.

Ethelred second Son of *Edgar* by *Elfrida* 979. (*for Edmund dy'd a Child*) his Brother *Malmsb.* *Edward* wickedly remov'd, was now next in right to succeed, and accordingly Crown'd at *Kingston*: reported by some, fair of visage, comly of person, elegant of behaviour; but the event will shew, that with many sluggish *Florent.* and ignoble Vices he quickly sham'd his out- *Sim. Dun.* side;

sider; born and prolong'd a fatal mischiefe of the People, and the ruine of his Countrey; wherof he gave early signs from his first infancy, bewraying the Font and Water while the Bishop was baptizing him. Whereat *Dunstan* much troubl'd, for he stood by and saw it, to them next him broke into these words, By God and Gods Mother this Boy will prove a Sluggard. Another thing is writt'n of him in his Childhood, which argu'd no bad nature, that hearing of his Brother *Edward's* cruel death, he made loud lamentation; but his furious Mother offended therewith, and having no rod at hand, beat him so with great Wax Candles, that he hated the sight of them ever after. *Dunstan* though unwilling set the Crown upon his head; but at the same time foretold op'nly, as is reported, the great Evils that were to come upon him and the Land, in avengement of his Brothers innocent blood.

Sim. Dun.

982.
Malmsb.

And about the same time, one midnight, a Cloud somtimes bloody, somtimes fiery, was seen over all *England*; and within three years the *Danish* Tempest, which had long surceast, revolv'd again upon this Iland. To the more ample relating whereof, the *Danish* History, at least thir latest and diligentest Historian, as neither from the first landing of *Danes*, in the Reign of *West-Saxon Brithric*, so now again from first to last, contributes nothing; busied more than enough to make out the bare names and successions of thir uncertain Kings, and thir small actions at home: unless out of him I should transcribe what he takes, and I better may,

may, from our own Annals ; the surer, and
the fadder witnessess of thir doings here, not
Glorious, as they vainly boast, but most inhu-
manly Barbarous. For the *Danes* well under-
standing, that *England* had now a slothfull *Eadmer.*
King to thir wish, first landing at *Southampton* *Florent.*
from seven great Ships, took the Town, spoil-
ed the Country, and carried away with them
great pillage ; nor was *Devonshire* and *Corn-* *Hoved.*
wall uninfested on the shore ; *Pirats* of *Nor-*
way also harried the Coast of *West Chester* :
and to add a worse Calamity, the City of *Lon-* *Sim. Dun.*
dan was burnt, casually or not, is not writt'n. *Hoved.*
It chanc'd four years after, that *Ethelred* be-
feig'd *Rochester*, some way or other offended
by the Bishop therof. *Dunstan* not approving
the cause, sent to warn him that he provoke *Ingulf.*
not *S^t Andrew* the Patron of that City, nor
waft his Lands ; an old craft of the Clergy to
secure thir Church Lands, by entailing them
on some Saint ; the King not hark'ning, *Dun-*
stan on this condition that the seige might be
rais'd, sent him a hundred pound, the money
was accepted and the seige dissolv'd. *Dunstan*
reprehending his avarice, sent him again this
word, Because thou hast respected money more
than Religion, the evils which I foretold shall
the sooner come upon thee ; but not in my
dayes, for so God hath spok'n. The next year *987.*
was Calamitous, bringing strange fluxes upon *Malmsb.*
men, and murren upon Cattel. *Dunstan* the *988.*
year following dy'd, a strenuous Bishop, zea- *Malmsb.*
lous without dread of person, and for ought
appears, the best of many Ages, if he buried
not

not himself too much in secular Affairs. He was Chaplain at first to King *Aethelstan*, and *Edmund* who succeeded, much employ'd in Court Affairs, till envi'd by some who laid many things to his charge, he was by *Edmund* forbidd'n the Court, but by the earnest mediation, saith *Ingulf*, of *Turkicul* the Chancellour, receav'd at length to favour, and made Abbot of *Glaston*, lastly by *Edgar* and the general Vote, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*. Not long after his death, the *Danes* arriving in *Devonshire* were met by *Goda* Lieutenant of that Country, and *Stremwold* a valiant Leader, who put back the *Danes*, but with losf of thir own lives. The third year following, under the Conduct of *Justin* and *Guthmund* the Son of *Steyran*, they landed and spoil'd *Ipswich*, fough't with *Brithnoth* Duke of the *East-Angles* about *Maldon*, where they slew him; the slaughter else had bin equal on both sides. These and the like depredations on every side the *English* not able to resist, by counsel of *Seric* then Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and two Dukes, *Ethelward* and *Alfric*; it was thought best for the present to buy that with Silver which they could not gain with thir Iron; and ten thousand pound was paid to the *Danes* for Peace. Which for a while contented; but taught them the ready way how easiest to come by more. The next year but one they took by storm and rifl'd *Bebbanburg* an ancient City nigh *Durham*: sailing thence into the mouth of *Humber*, they wasted both sides thereof, *Yorkshire* and *Lindsey*, burning and destroying all

991.

Sim. Dun.

993.

Sim. Dun.

all before them. Against these went out three Noblemen, *Frena*, *Fritbegift*, and *Godwin*, but being all *Danes* by the Fathers side, willingly began flight, and forsook thir own Forces betray'd to the Enemy. No less treachery was *Florent*. at Sea; for *Alfric* the Son of *Elfer* Duke of *Hunting*. *Mercia*, whom the King for some offence had banish'd but now recall'd, sent from *London* with a Fleet to surprise the *Danes*, in some place of disadvantage, gave them over night intelligence thereof, then fled to them himself; which his Fleet, faith *Florent*, perceaving, persu'd, took the Ship, but mis'd of his person; the *Londoners* by chance grappling with the *East-Angles* made them fewer, faith my Author, by many thousands. Others say, that by this notice of *Alfric*, the *Danes* not *Sim. Dun.* only escap'd, but with a greater Fleet set up on the *English*, took many of thir Ships, and in tryumph brought them up the *Thames*, intending to besiege *London*: for *Anlaf* King of *Norway*, and *Swane* of *Denmark*, at the head of these, came with ninety four Gallies. The King for this treason of *Alfric*, put out his Sons Eyes; but the *Londoners* both by Land and Water, so valiantly resisted thir besiegers, that they were forc't in one day with great los to give over. But what they could not on the City, they wreck'd themselves on the Countries round about, wasting with Sword and Fire all *Essex*, *Kent*, and *Sussex*. Thence horsing thir Foot, diffus'd far wider thir outragious incursions, without mercy either to Sex or Age. The slothful King instead of War-*Malmesb.* like

994.

like opposition in the Field, sends Embassadors to treat about another payment; the Summe promis'd was now 16000^l; till which paid, the *Danes* winter'd at *Southampton*; *Ethelred* inviteing *Anlaf* to come and vilit him at *Anderover*: where he was royally entertain'd, some say baptiz'd, or confirm'd, adopted Son by the King, and dismis't with great Presents, promising by Oath to depart and molest the Kingdome no more; which he perform'd, but the Calamity ended not so, for after some intermission of thir rage for three years, the other Navy of *Danes* sailing about to the West, enter'd *Severn*, and wasted one while *South-Wales*, then *Cornwall* and *Devonshire*, till at length they winter'd about *Tavistoc*. For it were an endles work to relate how they wallow'd up and down to every particular place, and to repeat as oft what devastations they wrought, what desolations left behind them, easie to be imagin'd.

Hunting.

997.

Sim. Dun.

In summ, the next year they afflicted *Dorsetshire*, *Hampshire*, and the Ile of *Wight*; by the *English* many resolutions were tak'n, many Armies rais'd, but either betray'd by the falsehood, or discourag'd by the weakness of thir Leaders, they were put to rout, or disbanded themselves. For Soldiers most commonly are as thir Commanders, without much odds of valour in one Nation or other, only as they are more or less wisely disciplin'd and conducted.

998.

Sim. Dun.

The following year brought them back upon *Kent*, where they enter'd *Medway*, and besieg'd *Rochester*; but the *Kentish* men assembling, gave them

999.

Sim. Dun.

them a sharp encounter, yet that suffic'd not to hinder them from doing as they had done in other places. Against these depopulations, the King leavied an Army ; but the unskilful Leaders not knowing what to do with it when they had it, did but drive out time, burdening and impoverishing the people, consuming the publick treasure, and more imboldning the Enemy, than if they had sat quiet at home.

What cause mov'd the *Danes* next year to pass into *Normandy*, is not recorded ; but that they return'd thence more outragious than before. Mean while the King, to make some diversion, undertakes an Expedition both by Land and Sea into *Cumberland*, where the *Danes* were most planted ; there and in the Ile of *Man*, or as *Camden* saith, *Anglesey*, imitating his Enemies in spoiling and unpeopling ; the *Danes* from *Normandy* arriving in the River *Ex*, laid seige to *Exeter* ; but the Cittizens, as those of *London*, valourously defending themselves, they wreck'd thir anger, as before, on the Villages round about. The Countrey People of *Somerset* and *Devonshire* assembling themselves at *Penho*, shew'd their readines, but wanted a head ; and besides, being then but few in number, were easilly put to flight ; the Enemy plundring all at will, with loaded spoils pafs'd into the Ile of *Wight* ; from whence all *Dorsetshire*, and *Hantsire*, felt again thir fury. The *Saxon Annals* write, that before thir coming to *Exeter*, the *Hantsire* men had a bickering with them, wherin *Ethelward* the Kings General was slain, adding

1000.

Sim. Dan.

1001.

Sim. Dan.

1002.

*Sim. Dun.**Malmsb.**Calvisius.**Florent.**Hunting.**Calvisius.*

other things hardly to be understood, and in one ancient Copy ; so end. *Ethelred*, whom no adversity could awake from his soft and sluggish life, still coming by the worse at fighting, by the advice of his Peers not unlike himself, sends one of his gay Courtiers, though looking loftily, to stoop basely and propose a third tribute to the *Danes* : they willingly hark'n, but the summ is enhaunc't now to twenty four thousand pound, and paid; the *Danes* therupon abstaining from hostility. But the King to strengthen his House by some Potent Affinity, marries *Emma*, whom the *Saxons* call *Elgiva*, Daughter of *Richard Duke of Normandy*. With him *Ethelred* formerly had War or no good correspondence, as appears by a Letter of Pope *John the 15th*, who made peace between them about eleaven years before ; puft up now with his suppos'd access of strength by this Affinity, he caus'd the *Danes* all over *England*, though now living peaceably, in one day perfidiously to be massacred, both Men, Woemen and Children ; fending private Letters to every Town and Citty, wherby they might be ready all at the same hour ; which till the appointed time (being the 9th of *July*) was conceal'd with great silence, and perform'd with much unanimity ; so generally hated were the *Danes*. *Mat. West.* writes, that this Execution upon the *Danes* was ten years after ; that *Huna* one of *Ethelred's* Chief Captains, complaining of the *Danish* Insolencies in time of Peace, thir Pride, thir ravishing of Matrons and Virgins, incited

the

the King to this Massacher, which in the madnes of Rage made no difference of innocent or nocent. Among these, *Gunbildis* the Sister of *Swane* was not spar'd, though much deserving not pitty only, but all protection : she with her Husband Earl *Palingus*, coming to live in *England*, and receaving Christianity, had her Husband and young Son slain before her face, her self then beheaded, foretelling and denouncing that her blood would cost *England* dear. Some say this was done by the Traytor *Edric*, to whose custody she was committed ; but the Massacher was som years before *Edric*'s advancement ; and if it were done by him afterward, it seems to contradict the private correspondence which he was thought to hold with the *Danes*. For *Swane* breathing revenge, hasted the next year into *England*, and by the treason or negligence of Count *Hugh*, whom *Emma* had recommended to the Government of *Devonshire*, fack'd the City of *Exeter*, her Wall from East to West-gate, brok'n down : after this walting *Wiltshire*, the People of that County, and of *Hamshire*, came together in great numbers with resolution stoutly to oppose him, but *Alfric* thir General, whose Sons Eyes the King had lately put out, madly thinking to revenge himself on the King, by ruining his own Country, when he should have order'd his Battel, the Enemy being at hand, fain'd himself tak'n with a vomiting ; wherby his Army in great discontent, destitute of a Commander, turn'd from the Enemy ; who streight took *Wilton* and *Salsbury*.

Mat. west.

1003.

Sim. Dun.

ry, carrying the pillage thereof to his Ships.
 1004. Thence the next year landing on the Coast of
_{Sim. Dun.} Norfolk, he wasted the Country, and set Norwich on fire; *Ulfketel* Duke of the *East-Angles*, a man of great valour, not having space to gather his Forces, after Consultation had, thought it best to make Peace with the *Dane*, which he breaking within three weeks, issued silently out of his Ships, came to *Thetford*, staid there a night, and in the Morning left it flameing. *Ulfketel* hearing this, commanded some to go and break, or burn his Ships; but they not dareing or neglecting, he in the mean while with what secrerie and speed was possible, drawing together his Forces, went out against the Enemy, and gave them a feirce Onset retreating to thir Ships; but much inferiour in number, many of the Chief *East-Angles*, there lost thir lives. Nor did the *Danes* come off without great slaughter of thir own; confessing that they never met in *England* with so rough a charge.

1005. The next year, whom Warr could not, a great Famin drove *Swane* out of the Land.

_{Sim. Dun.} But the Summer following, another great Fleet of *Danes* enter'd the Port of *Sandwich*, thence powr'd out over all *Kent* and *Suffex*, made prey of what they found. The King levying an Army out of *Mercia*, and the *West-Saxons*, took on him for once the Man-

hood to go out and face them; But they who held it safer to live by Rapine, than to hazard a Battel, shifting lightly from place to place, frustrated the flow motions of a heavy Camp,

Camp, following thir wonted course of robbery, then running to thir Ships. Thus all Autumn they wearied out the Kings Army, w^{ch} gone home to winter, they carried all thir pillage to the Ile of *Wight*, and there staid till *Christmas*; at which time the King being in *Shropshire*, and but ill employ'd (for by the procurement of *Edric*, he caus'd, as is thought, *Alfhelm* a Noble Duke, treacherously to be *Florent*. slain, and the Eyes of his two Sons to be put out) they came forth again, over-running *Hamshire*, and *Barkshire*, as far as *Reading* and *Wallingford*: thence to *Ashdune*, and other places thereabout, neither known nor of tolerable pronuntiation; and returning by another way, found many of the People in Arms by the River *Kenet*; but making thir way through, they got safe with vast booty to thir Ships. The King and his Courtiers wearied out with thir last Summers jaunt after the nimble *Danes* to no purpose, which by proof they found too toilsome for thir soft Eones, more us'd to Beds and Couches, had recourse to thir last and only remedy, thir Cofers; and send now the fourth time to buy a dishonourable peace, every time still dearer, not to be had now under thirty six thousand pound (for the *Danes* knew how to milk such easie Kine) in name of Tribute and expences: which out of the People over all *England*, already half begger'd, was extorted and paid. About the same time *Ethelred* advanc'd *Edric*, surnam'd *Streon*, from obscure condition to be Duke of *Mercia*, and marry *Edgitha* the Kings Daughter.

1007.
Sim. Dan.

ter. The cause of his advancement, *Florent of Worcester*, and *Mat. West*. attribute to his great wealth, gott'n by fine policies and a plausible tongue : he prov'd a main accessory to the ruin of *England*, as his actions will soon declare.

1008.
Sim. Dun.

Ethelred the next year somewhat rowling himself, ordain'd that every three hundred and ten Hides (a Hide is so much Land as one Plow can sufficiently Till) should set out a Ship or Gally, and every nine Hides find a Corflet and Head-peice : new Ships in every Port were builded, vittl'd, fraught with stout Mariners and Souldiers, and appointed to meet all at *Sandwich*. A man might now think that all would go well ; when suddenly a new mischief sprung up, dissention among the great ones ; which brought all this diligence to as little success as at other times before. *Bithric* the Brother of *Edric*, falsly accus'd *Wulnoth* a great Officer set over the *South-Saxons*, who fearing the potency of his Enemies, with twenty Ships got to Sea, and practis'd piracy on the Coast. Against whom, reported to be in a place where he might be easily surpris'd, *Bithric* sets forth with eighty Ships ; all which driv'n back by a Tempest and wrackt upon the shoar, were burnt soon after by *Wulnoth*. Disheart'nd with this misfortune, the King returns to *London* ; the rest of his Navy after him ; and all this great preparation to nothing. Whereupon *Turkill*, a *Danish* Earl, came with a Navy to the Ile of *Tanet*, and in *August* a far greater, led by *Heming* and *Ilf* joyn'd with him. Thence coasting to *Sandwich*,

1009.
Sim. Dun.

Sandwich, and landed, they went onward and began to assault *Canterbury*, but the Citizens and East Kentish men, coming to composition with them for three thousand pound, they departed thence to the Ile of *Wight*, robbing and burning by the way. Against these the King levies an Army through all the Land, and in several quarters places them nigh the Sea, but so unskillfully or unsuccessfully, that the *Danes* were not thereby hindered from exercising thir wonted Robberies. It happ'd that the *Danes* one day were gone up into the Country, far from thir Ships, the King having notice thereof, thought to intercept them in thir return; his men were resolute to overcome or die, time and place advantagious; but where courage and fortune was not wanting, there wanted Loyalty among them. *E-dric* with futtle arguments that had a shew of deep policy, disputed and perswaded the simplicity of his Fellow Counsellers, that it would be best consulted at that time to let the *Danes* pass without ambush or interception. The *Danes* where they expected danger, finding none, pas'd on with great joy and booty to thir Ships. After this, sailing about *Kent*, they lay that Winter in the *Thames*, forcing *Kent* and *Essex* to Contribution, oft-times attempting the City of *London*, but repuls'd as oft to thir great loss. Spring begun, leaving thir Ships, they pas'd through *Chiltern Wood* Sim. Dux. into *Oxfordshire*, burnt the City, and thence *Florent.* returning with divided Forces wasted on both sides the *Thames*; but hearing, that an Army

1010.

from *London* was marcht out against them, they on the North-side, passing the River at *Stanes*, join'd with them on the South into one body, and enrich't with great spoils, came back through *Surrey* to thir Ships; which all the Lent-time they repair'd. After *Easter*, sailing to the *East-Angles* they arriv'd at *Ipswich*, and came to a place call'd *Ringmere*, where they heard that *Vifketel* with his Forces lay, who with a sharp encounter soon entertain'd them; but his men at length giving back, through the suttlety of a *Danish* Seryant among them who began the flight, lost the field, though the Men of *Cambridgeshire* stood to it valiantly. In this Battel *Etheſtan* the Kings Son in Law, with many other Noblemen, was slain; wherby the *Danes* without more resistance, three months together had the spoiling of those Countries and all the Fens, burnt *Thetford* and *Granbrig*, or *Cambridge*; thence to a hilly place not far off, call'd by *Huntingdon* *Baleſham*, by *Camden* *Gogmagog* Hills, and the Villages therabout they turn'd thir fury, slaying all they met save one man, who getting up into a Steeple, is said to have defended himself against the whole *Danish* Army. They therefore so leaving him, thir Foot by Sea, thir Horse by Land through *Essex*, return'd back lad'n to thir Ships left in the *Thames*. But many dayes pass'd not between, when sallying again out of thir Ships as out of Savage Denns, they plunder'd over again all *Oxfordshire*, and added to thir prey *Buckingham*, *Bedford*, and *Hertfordshire*; then like

like wild Beasts glutted, returning to their Caves. A third excursion they made into *Northamptonshire*, burnt *Northampton*, ransacking the Country round; then as to fresh pasture betook them to the *West-Saxons*, and in like sort harrassing all *Wiltshire*, return'd, as I said before, like wild Beasts, or rather Sea-Monsters to thir Water-stables, accomplishing by *Christmas* the Circuit of their whole years good Deeds; an unjust and inhumane Nation, who receaving or not receaving tribute where none was owing them, made such destruction of mankind, and rapine of their lively-hood, as is a misery to read. Yet here they ceas'd not, for the next year repeating the same Cruelties on both sides the *Thames*, one way as far as *Huntingdon*, the other as far as *Wiltshire* and *Southampton*, sollicited again by the King for Peace, and receaving thir demands both of Tribute and Contribution, they slighted thir Faith; and in the beginning of *September* laid seige to *Canterbury*. On the 20th day, by the treachery of *Almere* the Arch-deacon, they took part of it and burnt it, committing all sorts of massacres as a sport; some they threw over the wall, others into the fire, hung some by the privy members, Infants pulled from their mothers breasts, were either stol on Spears, or Carts drawn over them; Matrons and Virgins by the hair drag'd and ravish't. *Alfage* the grave Arch-bishop, above others hated of the *Danes*, as in all Counfells and Actions to his might thir known opposer, tak'n, wounded, imprison'd in a noisom Ship; the

*Sim. Dunc.**Eadmer.*
Malmsb.
Eadmer.

1012.

Sim. Dun.

Eadmer.

the multitude are tith'd, and every tenth only spar'd. Early the next year before *Easter*, while *Ethelred* and his Peers were assembl'd at *London*, to raise now the fifth Tribute amounting to forty eight thousand pound, the *Danes* at *Canterbury* propose to the Arch-bishop, who had bin now seav'n months thir Prisoner, life and liberty, if he pay them three thousand pound; which he refuseing as not able of himself, and not willing to extort it from his Tennants, is permitted till the next *Sunday* to consider; then hal'd before their Counsel, of whom *Turkill* was Chief, and still refuseing, they rise most of them being drunk, and beat him with the blunt side of thir Axes, then thrust forth deliver him to be pelted with stones; till one *Thrum* a converted *Dane*, pit-tying him half dead, to put him out of pain; with a pious impiety, at one stroak of his Axe on the head dispatch'd him. His Body was carried to *London*, and there buried, thence afterward remov'd to *Canterbury*. By this time the Tribute paid, and Peace so oft'n violated sworn again by the *Danes*, they dispers'd thir Fleet; forty five of them, and *Turkill* thir Cheif staid at *London* with the King, swore him Allegiance to defend his Land against all Strangers, on condition only to be fed and cloath'd by him. But this voluntary friend-ship of *Turkill* was thought to be deceitfull, that staying under this pretence he gave intel-ligence to *Swane*, when it would be most sea-sonable to come. In *July* therfore of the next year, King *Swane* arriving at *Sandwich*, made

1013.

Sim. Dun.

no

no stay there, but failing first to *Humber*, thence into *Trent*, landed and encamp'd at *Gainsborough*: whither without delay repair'd to him the *Northumbrians*, with *Uthred* thir Earl; those of *Lindsey* also, then those of *Fisburg*, and lastly all on the North of *Watling-street* (which is a high way from East to West Sea) gave Oath and Hostages to obey him. From whom he commanded Horses and Provision for his Army, taking with him besides Bands and Companies of thir Choicest Men; and committing to his Son *Canute* the care of his Fleet and Hostages; he marches towards the *South Mercians*, commanding his Souldiers to exercise all Acts of Hostility; with the terror whereof fully executed, he took in few dayes the City of *Oxford*, then *Winchester*; thence tending to *London*, in his hasty passage over the *Thames*, without seeking Bridge or Ford, lost many of his men. Nor was his Expedition against *London* prosperous; for assaying all means by force or wile to take the City, wherin the King then was, and *Turkill* with his *Danes*, he was stoutly beat'n off as at other times. Thence back to *Wallingford* and *Bath*, directing his course, after usual havock made, he fate a while and refresh'd his Army. There *Ethelstan* an Earl of *Devonshire*, and other great Officers in the West yielded him subjection. These things flowing to his will, he betook him to his Navy, from that time stil'd and accounted King of *England*, if a Tyrant, faith *Simeon*, may be call'd a King. The *Londoners* also sent him Hostages, and made

*Malmesb.**1014.**Sim. Dan.**Mat. West.*

made thir Peace, for they fear'd his Fury. *Ethelred* thus reduc't to narrow compass, sent *Emma* his Queen, with his two Sons had by her, and all his Treasure to *Richard* the II^d her Brother, Duke of *Normandy*; himself with his *Danish* Fleet abode some while at *Greenwich*, then failing to the Isle of *Wight*, pass'd after *Christmas* into *Normandy*; where he was honourably receav'd at *Roan* by the Duke, though known to have born himself churlishly and proudly towards *Emma* his Sister, besides his dissolute Company with other Woemen. Mean while *Swane* ceas'd not to exact almost insupportable tribute of the People, spoiling them when he listed; besides, the like did *Turkill* at *Greenwich*. The next year beginning, *Swane* sickens and dies; some say terrifi'd and smitt'n by an appearing shape of St *Edmund* arm'd, whose Church at *Bury* he had threat'nd to demolish; but the Authority hereof relies only upon the Legend of St *Edmund*. After his death the *Danish* Army and Fleet made his Son *Canute* thir King; but the Nobility and States of *England* sent Messengersto *Ethelred*, declareing that they preferr'd none before thir Native Sovran, if he would promise to govern them better than he had done, and with more Clemency. Wherat the King rejoicing, sends over his Son *Edward* with Embassadors to Court both high and low, and win thir Love, promising largly to be thir mild and devoted Lord, to consent in all things to thir will, follow thir counsel, and whatever had been done or spok'n by any man against

1015.

Sim. Dun.

against him, freely to pardon ; if they would loyally restore him to be thir King. To this the People cheerfully answer'd, and Amity was both promis'd and confirm'd on both sides. An Embassiey of Lords is sent to bring back the King honourably ; he returns in *Lent* and is joyfully receav'd of the People, marches with a strong Army against *Canute* ; who having got Horses and joyn'd with the men of *Lindsey*, was preparing to make spoil in the Countries adjoyning ; but by *Ethelred* unexpectedly coming upon him, was soon driv'n to his Ships, and his Confederates of *Lindsey* left to the anger of thir Country-men, execut'd without mercy both by Fire and Sword. *Canute* in all haft failing back to *Sandwich*, took the Hostages giv'n to his Father from all parts of *England*, and with slit Noses, Ears cropt, and Hands chop't off, setting them ashore, departed into *Denmark*. Yet the People were not disburd'nd, for the King rais'd out of them thirty thousand pound to pay his Fleet of *Danes* at *Greenwich*. To these Evils the Sea in *October* pass'd his bounds, overwhelming many Towns in *England*, and of thir Inhabitants many thousands. The year following, an Assembly being at *Oxford*, *Edric of Streon*, having invited two Noblemen, *Sigeferth*, and *Morcar*, the Sons of *Earngrun* of *Seau'nburg* to his Lodging, secretly murder'd them : the King, for what cause is unknown, feis'd thir Estates, and caus'd *Algith* the Wife of *Sigeferth* to be kept at *Maidulfsburg*, now *Malmsbury* ; whom *Edmund* the Prince there married against

Malmesb.

*Liges Ed.
Conf. Tit.
deduct.
Norman.*

Encom. Em.

against his Fathers minde, then went and posseſſ'd thir Lands, making the People there ſubject to him. *Mat. West.* faith, that these two were of the *Danes* who had ſeated themſelves in *Northumberland*, ſlain by *Edric* under colour of Treafon laid to thir charge. They who attended them without, tumulting at the death of thir Maifters, were beat'n back; and driv'n into a Church, and defending themſelves were burnt there in the Steeple. Mean while *Canute* returning from *Denmark* with a great Navy, two hundred Ships richly gilded and adornd, well fraught with Arms and all Provision; and, which *Encomium Emmae* men- tions not, two other Kings, *Lachman* of *Swe- den*, *Olav* of *Norway*, arriv'd at *Sandwich*; and as the fame Authour then living writes, ſent out ſpies to diſcover what reſiſtance on Land was to be expeſted; who return'd with cer- tain report, that a great Army of *English* was in readineſs to oppoſe them. *Turkill*, who up- on the arrival of theſe *Danish* Powers, kept faith no longer with the *English*, but joyning now with *Canute*, as it were to reingratiate himſelf after his revolt, whether real or com- plotted, counſell'd him (being yet young) not to land, but leave to him the management of this firſt Battel; the King aſſented, and he with the Forces which he had brought, and part of thoſe which arriv'd with *Canute*, land- ing to thir wiſh encounter'd the *English*, though double in number, at a place call'd *Scorafstan*, and was at firſt beaten back with much loſs. But at length animating his Men with Rage only

only and Despair, obtain'd a clear Victory, which won him great reward and possessions from *Canute*. But of this Action no other writer makes mention : from *Sandwich* therfore sailing about to the River *Frome*, and there landing, over all *Dorset*, *Summerſet*, and *Wiltshire*, he spread wastfull hostility. The King *camden.* lay then sick at *Cosham* in this County ; though it may seem strange how he could lie sick there in the midst of his Enemies. Howbeit *Edmund* in one part, and *Edric of Streon* in another, rais'd Forces by themselves ; but so soon as both Armies were united, the Traytor *Edric* being found to practice against the Life of *Edmund*, he remov'd with his Army from him ; whereof the Enemy took great advantage. *Edric* easily enticing the forty Ships of *Danes* to side with him, revolted to *Canute*, the *West-Saxons* also gave pledges and furnished him with Horses. By which means the year ensuing, he with *Edric* the Traytor, passing the *Thames* at *Creclad*, about twelftide, enter'd into *Mercia*, and especially *Warwickshire*, depopulating all places in thir way. Against these, Prince *Edmund*, for his hardines call'd *Ironside*, gather'd an Army ; but the *Mercians* refus'd to fight unless *Ethelred* with the *Londoners* came to aid them ; and so every man return'd home. After the Festival, *Edmund* gathering another Army besought his Father to come with the *Londoners*, and what force besides he was able ; they came with great strength gott'n together , but being come, and in a hopefull way of good succes, it

1016.
Sim. Dun.

it was told the King, that unless he took the better heed, some of his own Forces would fall off and betray him. The King daunted with this perhaps cunning whisper of the Enemy, disbanding his Army, returns to *London*. *Edmund* betook him into *Northumberland*, as some thought to raise fresh Forces; but he with Earl *Uthred* on the one side, and *Canute* with *Edric* on the other, did little else but waste the Provinces; *Canute* to Conquer them, *Edmund* to punish them, who stood neuter; for which cause *Stafford*, *Shropshire*, and *Lester-shire*, felt heavily his hand; while *Canute*, who was ruineing the more Southern Shires, at length march'd into *Northumberland*; which *Edmund* hearing dismiss'd his Forces, and came to *London*. *Uthred* the Earl hasted back to *Northumberland*, and finding no other remedy, submitted himself with all the *Northumbrians*, giving hostages to *Canute*. Nevertheless by his command or connivence, and the hand of one *Turcbrand* a *Danish* Lord; *Uthred* was slain, and *Iric* another *Dane* made Earl in his stead. This *Uthred* Son of *Walteof*, as *Simeon* writes, in his treatise of the Seige of *Durham*, in his youth obtain'd a great Victory against *Malcolm* Son of *Kened* King of *Scots*, who with the whole Power of his Kingdome was fall'n into *Northumberland*, and laid seige to *Durham*. *Walteof* the old Earl unable to resist, had secur'd himself in *Bebbanburg*, a strong Town, but *Uthred* gathering an Army rais'd the Seige, slew most of the *Scots*, thir King narrowly escaping, and with the heads
of

of thir slain fixt upon Poles beset round the Walls of *Durham*. The year of this exploit *Simeon* cleers not, for in 969, and in the Reign of *Ethelred* as he affirms, it could not be. *Canute* by another way returning Southward, joyfull of his success, before *Easter* came back with all the Army to his Fleet. About the end of *April* ensuing, *Ethelred* after a long, troublesome and ill govern'd Reign, ended his dayes at *London*, and was buried in the Church of *St Paul*.

Edmund Ironside.

After the decease of *Ethelred*, they of the *Florent*. Nobility who were then at *London* together with the Citizens, chose *Edmund* his Son (not by *Emma*, but a former Wife the *Ed. Conf.* Daughter of Earl *Thored*) in his Fathers room; but the Arch-bishops, Abbots, and many of the Nobles assembling together elected *Canute*; and coming to *Southampton* where he then remain'd, renounc'd before him all the Race of *Ethelred*, and swore him fidelity: he also swore to them, in matters both Religious and Secular, to be thir faithfull Lord. But *Edmund* with all speed going to the *West-Sax*. *Florent*. was joyfully receav'd of them as thir King, and of many other Provinces by thir example. Mean while *Canute* about mid *May* came with his whole Fleet up the River to *London*; then causing a great Dike to be made on *Surrey* side, turn'd the stream and drew his *Sim. Duns* Ships

Malmesb.

Ships thither West of the Bridge ; then besetting the City with a broad and deep trench, assaile'd it on every side ; but repulst as before by the valourous Defendants, and in despair of success at that time, leaving part of his Army for the defence of his Ships, with the rest sped him to the *West-Saxons*, e're *Edmund* could have time to assemble all his Powers : who yet with such as were at hand invoking Divine Aid, encounter'd the *Danes* at *Penby Gillingham* in *Dorsetshire*, and put him to flight. After Mid-summer, encreast with new Forces, he met with him again at a place call'd *Sheraston*, now *Sharston* ; but *Edric*, *Almar*, and *Algar*, with the *Hampshire* and *Wiltshire* Men, then siding with the *Danes*, he only maintain'd the fight, obstinately fought on both sides, till night and weariness parted them. Day light returning renu'd the Conflict ; wherein the *Danes* appearing inferiour, *Edric* to disheart'n the *English* cuts off the Head of one *Osmer*, in countnance and hair somewhat resembling the King, and holding it up, cries aloud to the *English*, that *Edmund* being slain and this his Head, it was time for them to flie ; which fallacy *Edmund* perceaving, and op'nly shewing himself to his Souldiers, by a Spear thrown at *Edric*, that missing him yet flew one next him, and through him another behinde, they recover'd heart, and lay sore upon the *Danes* till night parted them as before : for e're the third morn, *Canute* sensible of his loss, march'd away by stealth to his Ships at *London*, renuing there his League.

Leagre. Some would have this Battel at *Sherastan* the same with that at *Scorastan* before mention'd, but the circumstance of time permits not that, having bin before the landing of *Canute*, this a good while after, as by the Process of things appears: from *Sherastan* or *Sharstan*, *Edmund* return'd to the *West-Saxons*, whose Valour *Edric* fearing, lest it might prevail against the *Danes*, sought pardon of his Revolt, and obtaining it iwore Loyalty to the King, who now the third time coming with an Army from the *West-Saxons* to *London*, rais'd the Seige, chaseing *Canute* and his *Danes* to thir Ships. Then after two dayes passing the *Thames* at *Branford*, and so coming on thir backs, kept them so turn'd, and obtain'd the Victory: then returns again to his *West-Saxons*, and *Canute* to his Seige, but still in vain; rising therefore thence, he enter'd with his Ships a River then call'd *A-tremme*; and from the Banks therof wasted *Mercia*; thence thir Horse by Land, thir Foot by Ship came to *Medway*. *Edmund* in the mean while with multipli'd Forces out of many Shires, crossing again at *Branford*, came into *Kent*, seeking *Canute*; encounter'd him at *Orford*, and so defeated, that of his Horse, they who escap'd fled to the Ile of *Sheppey*; and a full Victory he had gain'd, had not *Edric* still the Traytor by some wile or other detain'd his perfuit: and *Edmund* who never wanted courage, here wanted prudence to be so misled, ever after forsak'n of his wonted Fortune. *Canute* croſſing with his Army into

Camden.

Camden.

Camden.

Essex, thence wasted *Mercia* worse than before, and with heavy prey return'd to his Ships: them *Edmund* with a collected Army perfueing, overtook at a place call'd *Affandunt*, or *Assehill*, now *Ashdown* in *Essex*; the Battel on either side was fought with great vhemence; but perfidious *Edric* perceaving the Victory to incline towards *Edmund*, with that part of the Army which was under him, fled, as he had promis'd *Canute*, and left the King over-match't with numbers: by which desertion the *English* were overthrown, Duke *Alfric*, Duke *Godwin*, and *Ulfketel* the valiant Duke of *East-Angles*, with a great part of the Nobility slain, so as the *English* of a long time had not receav'd a greater blow. Yet after a while *Edmund* not absurdly call'd *Ironside*, preparing to try again his Fortune in another Field, was hinder'd by *Edric* and others of his Faction, adviseing him to make Peace and divide the Kingdome with *Canute*. To which *Edmund* over-rul'd, a Treaty appointed, and Pledges mutually giv'n, both Kings met together at a place call'd *Deorhirst* in *Gloster-shire*; *Edmund* on the West side of *Severn*, *Canute* on the East with thir Armies, then both in person wafted into an Iland, at that time call'd *Olaneg*, now *Alney* in the midst of the River; swearing Amity and Brother-hood, they parted the Kingdome between them. Then interchanging Armes and the habit they wore, asselssing also what pay should be allotted to the Navy; they departed each his way. Concerning this interview, and the cause therof,

therof, others write otherwise; *Malmsbury*, that *Edmund* grieved at the loss of so much blood spilt for the ambition only of two men striveing who should Reign, of his own accord sent to *Canute*, offering him single Combate, to prevent in thir own Cause the effusion of more blood than thir own; that *Canute* though of courage anough, yet not unwiseley doubting to adventure his body of small Timber, against a man of Iron sides, refus'd the Combate, offring to divide the Kingdome; this offer pleasing both Armies, *Edmund* was not difficult to consent; and the decision was, that he as his Hereditary Kingdome should Rule the *West-Saxons*, and all the South, *Canute* the *Mercians*, and the North. *Huntingdon* follow'd by *Mat. West.* relates, That the Peers on every side wearied out with continual Warfare, and not refraining to affirm op'nly, that they two who expected to Reign singly, had most reason to fight singly, the Kings were content; the Iland was thir Lists, the Combate Knightly; till *Knute* finding himself too weak, began to parle, which ended as is said before. After which the *Londoners* bought thir Peace of the *Danes*, and permitted them to winter in the City. But King *Edmund* about the feast of St *Andrew*, unexpectedly deceas'd at *London*, and was buried neer to *Edgar* his Grand-father at *Glaston*. The cause of his so sudden death is uncertain; common Fame, saith *Malmsbury*, laies the guilt therof upon *Edric*, who to please *Canute*, allur'd with promise of Reward two

of the Kings Privy Chamber, though at first abhorring the fact, to assassinate him at the Stool, by thrusting a sharp Iron into his hinder parts. *Huntingdon*, and *Mat. West.* relate it done at *Oxford* by the Son of *Edric*, and something vary in the manner, not worth recital. *Edmund* dead, *Canute* meaning to Reign sole King of *England*, calls to him all the Dukes, Barons, and Bishops of the Land, cunningly demanding of them who were witnesses what agreement was made between him and *Edmund* dividing the Kingdom, whether the Sons and Brothers of *Edmund* were to govern the *West-Saxons* after him, *Canute* living? they who understood his meaning, and fear'd to undergo his anger, timorously answer'd, that *Edmund* they knew had left no part therof to his Sons or Brethren, living or dying; but that he intended *Canute* should be thir Guardian, till they came to age of Reigning. *Simeon* affirms, that for fear or hope of Reward they attested what was not true: notwithstanding which he put many of them to death not long after.

Canute, or Knute.

1017.
Sim. Dun.
Sax. Ann.

C*Anute* having thus founded the Nobility, and by them understood, receav'd thir Oath of fealty, they the pledge of his bare hand, and Oath from the *Danish* Nobles; whereupon the House of *Edmund* was renounc't, and *Canute* Crown'd. Then they enacted,

enacted, that *Edwi* Brother of *Edmund*, a Prince of great hope, should be banish't the Realm. But *Canute* not thinking himself secure while *Edwi* liv'd, consulted with *Edric* how to make him away; who told him of one *Ethelward* a decay'd Nobleman, likeliest to do the work. *Ethelward* sent for, and tempted by the King in private, with largest rewards, but abhorring in his mind the deed, promis'd to do it when he saw his opportunity; and so still deferr'd it. But *Edwi* afterwards receav'd into favour as a snare, was by him or some other of his false friends, *Canute* contriving it, the same year slain. *Edric* also counsel'd him to dispatch *Edward* and *Edmund*, the Sons of *Ironside*; but the King doubting that the Fact would seem too foul done in *England*, sent them to the King of *Sweden*, with like intent; but he disdaining the Office, sent them for better safety to *Solomon* King of *Hungary*; where *Edmund* at length dy'd, but *Edward* married *Agatha* Daughter to *Henry* the German Emperour. A digression in the Lawes of *Edward* Confessor under the Title of *Lex Noricorum* faith, that this *Edward* for fear of *Canute*, fled of his own accord to *Malesclot* King of the *Rugians*, who receav'd him honourably, and of that Countrey gave him a Wife. *Canute* settl'd in his Throne, divided the Government of his Kingdom into four parts; the *West-Saxons* to himself, the *East-Angles* to Earl *Turkill*, the *Mericians* to *Edric*, the *Northumbrians* to *Eric*; then made Peace with all Princes round a-

bout him, and his former Wife being dead, in July married *Emma* the Widow of King *Ethelred*. The *Christmas* following was an ill Feast to *Edric*, of whose Treason, the King having now made use as much as serv'd his turn, and fearing himself to be the next betray'd, caus'd him to be slain at *London* in the Palace, thrown over the City Wall, and there to lie unburied; the head of *Edric* fixt on a Pole, he commanded to be set on the highest Tower of *London*, as in a double fence he had promis'd him, for the murder of King *Edmund* to exalt him above all the Peers of England. *Huntingdon*, *Malmsbury*, and *Mat. West.* write, that suspecting the Kings intention to degrade him from his *Mercian* Duke-dome, and upbraiding him with his Merits, the King enrag'd, caus'd him to be strangl'd in the room, and out at a Window thrown into the *Thames*. Another writes, that *Eric* at the Kings command struck off his head.

Encom. Em.
Ingulf. Other great men though without fault, as Duke *Norman* the Son of *Leofwin*, *Ethelward* Son of Duke *Agelmar*, he put to death at the same time, jealous of their Power or Familiarity with *Edric*: and notwithstanding Peace, kept still his Army; to maintain which, the next

1018.
Sim. Dun. year he squees'd out of the English, though now his Subjects, not his Enemies, seventy two, some say, eighty two thousand pound, besides fifteen thousand out of *London*. Mean while great Warr arose at *Carr*, between *Uthred* Son of *Waldef*, Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Malcolm* Son of *Kened* King of *Scots*,

Hunting.

Mat. West.

Scots, with whom held Eugenius King of Lo-
thian. But heer Simeon the relater seems to
have committed some mistake, having slain
Uthred by *Canute* two years before, and set
Eric in his place: *Eric* therfore it must needs
be, not *Uthred*, who manag'd this Warr a-
gainst the Scots. About which time in a Con-
vention of *Danes* at *Oxford*, it was agreed on
both Parties to keep the Laws of *Edgar*; *Mat.*
West. faith, of *Edward* the Elder. The next 1019.
year *Canute* fail'd into *Denmarke*, and there Sim. Dun.
abode all Winter. *Huntingdon* and *Mat. West.*
say, he went thither to repress the *Swedes*,
and that the night before a Battel to be fought
with them, *Godwin* stealing out of the Camp
with his *English*, assaulted the *Swedes*, and had
got the Victory ere *Canute* in the morning
knew of any fight. For which bold enter-
prise, though against Discipline, he had the
English in more esteem ever after. In the 1020.
Spring at his return into *England*, he held in Sim. Dun.
the time of *Easter* a great Assembly at *Chir-*
chester, and the same year was with *Turkill*
the *Dane* at the Dedication of a Church by
them built at *Affendune*, in the place of that
great Victory which won him the Crown. But 1021.
suspecting his Greatness, the year following Sim. Dun.
banish'd him the Realm, and found occasion
to do the like by *Eric* the *Northumbrian* Earl
upon the same jealousie. Nor yet content 1028.
with his Conquest of *England*, though now a-
bove ten years enjoy'd, he pas'd with fifty
Ships into *Norway*, disposess'd *Olave* their
King, and subdu'd the Land, first with great
summes

- summes of money sent the year before to gain him a Party, then coming with an Army to compell the rest. Thence returning King of
- 1029.** *Sim. Dun.* *England, Denmarke, and Norway*, yet not secure in his mind, under colour of an Embassey he sent into banishment *Hacun* a powerfull *Dane*, who had married the Daughter of his Sister *Gunildis*, having conceav'd some suspicion of his practices against him : but such course was tak'n, that he never came back ; either perishing at Sea, or slain by contrivance the next year in *Orkney*. *Canute*
- 1030.** *Sim. Dun.* therefore having thus establish't himself by bloodshed and oppression, to wash away, as he thought, the guilt thereof, failing again into *Denmarke*, went thence to *Rome*, and offer'd there to *St Peter* great guifts of Gold and Silver, and other precious things; besides the usual Tribute of *Romscot*, giving great Alms by the way, both thether and back again, freeing many places of Custome and Toll with great expence, where strangers were wont to pay, having vow'd great amendment of life at the Sepulchre of *Peter* and *Paul*, and to his whole People in a large Letter writt'n from *Rome* yet extant. At his return therefore he built and dedicated a Church to *St Edmund* at *Bury*, whom his Ancestors had slain, threw out the Secular Priests who had intruded there, and plac'd Monks in thir stead ; then going into *Scotland*, subdu'd and receav'd homage of *Malcolm*, and two other Kings there, *Melbeath*, and *Jermare*. Three years after having made
- Hunting.**
- 1032.** *Sim. Dun.*
- 1035.** *Sim. Dun.*

made *Swane* his suppos'd Son by *Algiva* of *Northampton*, Duke *Alfhelms* Daughter (for others say the Son of a Priest whom *Algiva* barren had got ready at the time of her feign-ed labour) King of *Norway*, and *Hardecnute Florent.* his Son by *Emma* King of *Denmarke*, and de-sign'd *Harold* his Son by *Algiva* of *Northam-pton* King of *England*, dy'd at *Shaftsbury*, and was buried at *Winchester* in the old Monastery. This King, as appears, ended better than he *Florent.* began, for though he seems to have had no hand in the death of *Ironside*, but detested the fact, and bringing the murderers, who came to him in hope of great reward, forth among his Courtiers, as it were to receave thanks, after they had op'nly related the manner of thir killing him, deliver'd them to deserved punishment, yet he spar'd *Edric* whom he knew to be the prime Authour of that detestable fact; till willing to be rid of him, grown importune upon the confidence of his Merits, and upbraided by him that he had first relinquisht, then extinguisht *Edmund* for his sake; angry to be so upbraided, therfore said he with a chang'd countnance, Traytor to God and to me, thou shalt die; thine own mouth accuses thee to have slain thy Master my Confederate Brother, and the Lords Anointed. Whereupon although present and *Malmsb.* privat Execution was in rage done upon *Edric*, yet he himself in cool blood scrupl'd not to make away the Brother and Childern of *Ed-mund*, who had better right to be the Lords Anointed heir than himself. When he had obtain'd

obtain'd in *England* what he desir'd, no wonder if he sought the Love of his conquer'd Subjects for the love of his own quiet, the maintainers of his Wealth and State, for his own profit. For the like reason he is thought to have married *Emma*, and that *Richard Duke of Normandy* her Brother might the less care what became of *Elfred* and *Edward*, her Sons by King *Ethelred*. He commanded to be observ'd the Ancient *Saxon Laws*, call'd afterwards the *Laws of Edward the Confessor*, not that he made them, but strictly observ'd them. His Letter from *Rome* professes, if he had done aught amiss in his Youth, through negligence or want of due temper, full resolution with the help of God to make amends, by governing justly and piously for the future; charges and adjures all his Officers and Vicounts, that neither for Fear of him, or Favour of any person, or to enrich the King, they suffer injustice to be done in the Land; commands his Treasurers to pay all his Debts ere his return home, which was by *Denmark*, to compose matters there; and what his Letter profess'd, he perform'd all his life after. But it is a fond conceit in many great Ones, and pernicious in the end, to cease from no violence till they have attain'd the utmost of their ambitions and desires; then to think God appeas'd by their seeking to bribe him with a share however large of their ill-gott'n spoils, and then lastly to grow zealous of doing right, when they have no longer need to do wrong. Howbeit *Canute* was Famous through

through Europe, and much honour'd of *Conrade* the Emperour, then at *Rome*, with rich guifts and many grants of what he there demanded for the freeing of passages from Toll and Custome. I must not omit one remarkable action done by him, as *Huntingdon* reports it, with great Scene of circumstance, and emphatical expression, to shew the small Power of Kings in respect of God ; which, unless to Court-Parasites, needed no such laborious demonstration. He caus'd his Royal Seat to be set on the shoar, while the Tide was coming in ; and with all the State that Royalty could put into his countnance, said thus to the Sea : Thou Sea belongſt to me, and the Land wheron I ſit is mine ; nor hath any one unpunish't refliſt my Commands : I charge thee come no furder upon my Land, neither presume to wet the Feet of thy Sovran Lord. But the Sea, as before, came rowling on, and without reverence both wet and dashed him. Wherat the King quickly riſeing, wiſh'd all about him to behold and conſider the weak and frivolous Power of a King, and that none indeed deserv'd the name of a King, but he whose Eternal Laws both Heav'n, Earth, and Sea obey. A truth ſo evident of it ſelf, as I ſaid before, that unleſs to shame his Court Flatterers who would not elſe be convin't, *Ca-nute* needed not to have gone wet-shod home : The best is, from that time forth he never would wear a Crown, eſteeming Earthly Royalty contemptible and vain.

Harold.

Harold.

*Florent.**Bromton.**Hunting.**Mat. West.**Mat. West.**Encom. Em.*

Harold for his swiftness furnam'd *Harefoot*, the Son of *Canute* by *Algiva* of *Northampton* (though some speak doubtfully as if she bore him not, but had him of a Shoemakers Wife, as *Swane* before of a Priest; others of a Maid-Servant, to conceal her barrenness) in a great Assembly at *Oxford*, was by Duke *Leofric* and the *Mercians*, with the *Londoners*, according to his Fathers Testament, elected King; but without the Regal Habiliments, which *Ælnot* the Arch-bishop having in his Custody, refus'd to deliver up, but to the Sons of *Emma*, for which *Harold* ever after hated the Clergy; and (as the Clergy are wont thence to inferr) all Religion. *Godwin* Earl of *Kent*, and the *West-Saxons* with him, stood for *Hardecnute*. *Malmsbury* saith, that the Contest was between *Dane* and *English*; that the *Danes* and *Londoners* grown now in a manner *Danish*, were all for *Hardecnute*; but he being then in *Denmarke*, *Harold* prevail'd, yet so as that the Kingdome should be divided between them; the West and South part reserv'd by *Emma* for *Hardecnute*, till his return. But *Harold* once advanc't into the Throne, banish'd *Emma* his Mother-in-law, feis'd on his Fathers Treasure at *Winchester*, and there remain'd. *Emma* not holding it safe to abide in *Normandy* while Duke *William* the Bastard was yet under Age, retir'd

1036.

Sim. Dun.

retir'd to Baldwin Earl of Flanders. In the mean while Alfred and Edward Sons of Ethelred, accompanied with a small number of Norman Souldiers in a few Ships, coming to visit their Mother Emma not yet departed the Land, and perhaps to see how the People were inclin'd to restore them their Right; Alfred was sent for by the King then at London; but in his way met at Guilford by Earl Godwin, who with all seeming friendship entertain'd him, was in the night surpris'd and made Prisner, most of his Company put to various sorts of cruel death, decimated twice over, then brought to London, was by the King sent bound to Eely, had his Eyes put out by the way, and deliver'd to the Monks there, dy'd soon after in thir Custody. Malmesbury gives little credit to this Story of Alfred, as not Chronicl'd in his time, but rumour'd only. Which Emma however hearing, sent away her Son Edward, who by good hap accompanied not his Brother, with all speed into Normandy. But the Authour of *Encomium Emma*, who seems plainly (though nameless) to have been some Monk, yet liv'd, and perhaps wrote within the same year when these things were done; by his relation differing from all others, much aggravates the cruelty of Harold, that he not content to have practis'd in secret (for op'nly he durst not) against the life of Emma, fought many treacherous wayes to get her Son within his Power; and resolv'd at length to forge a Letter in the name of their Mother,

ther, inviting them into *England*, the Copy of which Letter he produces writt'n to this purpose.

Emme in name only Queen, to her Sons Edward and Alfrid imparts Motherly Salutation. While we severally bewail the death of our Lord the King, most Dear Sons, and while daily ye are depriv'd more and more of the Kingdome your Inheritance; I admire what Counsel yee take, knowing that your intermitted delay, is a daily strengthning to the Reign of your Usurper, who incessantly goes about from Town to City, gaining the Chief Nobles to his Party, either by Gifts, Prayers, or Threats. But they had much rather one of you should Reign over them, than to be held under the Power of him who now Over-rules them. I entreat therefore that one of you come to me speedily, and privately; to receive from me wholesome Counsel, and to know how the busines which I intend shall be accomplisht. By this Messenger present, send back what you determine. Farewell, as dear both as my own Heart.

These Letters were sent to the Princes then in *Normandy*, by express Messengers, with Presents also as from their Mother; which they joyfully receiving, return word by the same Messengers, that one of them will be with her shortly; naming both the time and place. Alfrid therefore the younger (for so it was thought best) at the appointed time, with a few Ships and finall numbers about

about him appearing on the Coast, no sooner came ashore but fell into the snare of Earl Godwin, sent on purpose to betray him; as above was related. Emma greatly sorrowing for the loss of her Son, thus cruelly made away, fled immediatly with some of the Nobles her faithfulest adherents into Flanders, had her dwelling assign'd at Bruges by the Earl; where having remain'd about two years, she was visited out of Denmarke by 1039.
Hardecnute her Son; and he not long had re-
Sim. Duns.
 main'd with her there, when Harold in Eng-
Hunting.
 land, having done nothing the while worth
 memory, save the Taxing of every Port at
 eight Marks of Silver to sixteen Ships, dy'd
 at London, some say at Oxford, and was bur-
1040.
 ied at Winchester. After which, most of the
 Nobility, both Danes and English now agree-
 ing, send Embassadors to Hardecnute still at
 Bruges with his Mother, entreating him to
 come and receave as his Right the Scepter,
 who before Midsomer came with sixty Ships,
 and many Souldiers out of Denmark.

Hardecnute.

Hardecnute receav'd with Acclamation,
 and seated in the Throne, first call'd
 to mind the injuries done to him or his Mo-
 ther Emma in the time of Harold; sent Al-
 fric Arch-bishop of Yorke, Godwin and o-
 thiers, with Troud his Executioner to Lon-
 don, commanding them to dig up the body

of King *Harold*, and throw it into a Ditch; but by a second order, into the *Thames*. Whence tak'n up by a Fisherman, and convey'd to a Church-yard in *London*, belonging to the *Danes*, it was enterr'd again with honour. This done he levied a fore Tax, that eight Marks to every Rower, and twelve to every Officer in his Fleet should be paid throughout *England*; by which time they who were so forward to call him over, had anough of him; for he, as they thought, had too much of theirs. After this he call'd to account *Godwin* Earl of *Kent*, and *Leving* Bishop of *Worster*, about the death of *Elfred* his half Brother, which *Alfric* the Arch-bishop laid to thir charge; the King depriv'd *Leving* of his Bishoprick, and gave it to his accuser: but the year following, pacifi'd with a round summe restor'd it to *Leving*. *Godwin* made his Peace by a sumptuous Present, a gally with a guilded stem bravely rigg'd, and eighty Souldiers in her, every one with Bracelets of Gold on each Arm, weighing sixteen ounces, Helmet, Corslet, and Hilts of his Sword guilded; a *Danish* Curtax listed with Gold or Silver, hung on his left shoulder, a Shield with bosc and nailes guilded in his left hand, in his right a Launce: besides this, he took his Oath before the King, that neither of his own counsel or will, but by the command of *Harold* he had done what he did, to the putting out of *Elfreds* Eyes. The like Oath took most of the Nobility for themselves or in his behalf. The next year, *Har-*

Malmsb.

1041.

Sim. Dunn.

decennate

decrent sending his Houscarles, so they call'd his Officers, to gather the Tribute impos'd; two of them rigorous in their Office, were slain at *Worster* by the People; whereat the King enrag'd, sent *Leofric* Duke of *Mercia*, and *Seward* of *Northumberland*, with great Forces and Commission to slay the Cittizens, rifle and burn the City, wast the whole Province. Affrighted with such news, all the People fled; the Countreymen whither they could, the Cittizens to a small Iland in *Ser-vern*, call'd *Beverege*, which they fortifi'd and defended stoutly, till Peace was granted them, and freely to return home. But their City they found sack't and burnt; wherewith the King was appeas'd. This was commendable in him, however cruel to others, that toward his half Brethren, though Rivals of his Crown, he shew'd himself alwayes tenderly affecti-
on'd; as now towards *Edward*, who without fear came to him out of *Normandy*, and with unfeigned kindness receav'd, remain'd safely and honourably in his Court. But *Har-decneute* the year following, at a Feast where-
in *Osgod* a great *Danish* Lord gave his Daugh-
ter in Marriage at *Lambeth*, to *Prudon* ano-
ther Potent *Dane*; in the midst of his mirth,
found and healthfull to fight, while he was
drinking fell down speechleſs, and so dying,
was buried at *Winchester* beside his Father. He
was it seems a great lover of good chere; sit-
ting at Table four times a day, with great va-
riety of Dishes, and superfluity to all Com-
mers. Whereas, saith *Huntingdon*, in our

Time Princes in their Houses made but one meal a day. He gave his Sister *Gunildis*, a Virgin of rare Beauty, in marriage to *Henry the Alman* Emperour ; and to send her forth pompously, all the Nobility contributed thir Jewels and richest Ornaments. But it may seem a wonder that our Historians, if they deserve that name, should in a matter so remarkable, and so neer thir own time, so much differ. *Huntingdon* relates against the credit of all other records, that *Hardecnute* thus dead, the *English* rejoicing at this unexpected riddance of the *Danish* yoke, sent over to *Elfrid* the Elder Son of *Emma* by King *Ethelred*, of whom we heard but now, that he dy'd Prisner at *Eely*, sent thether by *Harold* six years before ; that he came now out of *Normandy*, with a great number of men to receave the Crown ; that Earl *Godwin* aiming to have his Daughter Queen of *England* by marrying her to *Edward* a simple youth, for he thought *Elfred* of a higher Spirit than to accept her, perswaded the Nobles that *Elfred* had brought over too many *Normans*, had promis'd them Lands here, that it was not safe to suffer a Warlike and suttle Nation to take root in the Land, that these were to be so handl'd as none of them might dare for the future to flock hither, upon pretence of relation to the King ; thereupon by common consent of the Nobles, both *Elfred* and his Company were dealt with as was above related ; that they then sent for *Edward* out of *Normandy*, with hostages to be left there of their

their faithfull intentions to make him King, and their desires not to bring over with him many *Normans*; that *Edward* at their call came then first out of *Normandy*; whereas all others agree that he came voluntarily over to visit *Hardecnute*, as is before said, and was remaining in the Court at the time of his death. For *Hardecnute* dead, saith *Malmsbury*, *Edward* doubting greatly his own safety, determin'd to rely wholly on the advice and favour of Earl *Godwin*, desiring therfore by Messengers to have private speech with him, the Earl a while deliberated: at last assenting, Prince *Edward* came, and would have fall'n at his feet; but that not permitted, told him the danger wherein he thought himself at present, and in great perplexity besought his help to convey him some whither out of the Land. *Godwin* soon apprehending the fair occasion that now as it were prompted him how to advance himself and his Family, cherfully exhorted him to remember himself the Son of *Ethelred*, the Grandchild of *Edgar*, right Heir to the Crown, at full Age; not to think of flying but of reigning, which might easily be brought about if he would follow his Counsel; then setting forth the Power and Authority which he had in *England*, promis'd it should be all his to set him on the Throne, if he on his part would promise and swear to be for ever his friend, to preserve the honour of his House, and to marry his Daughter. *Edward*, as his necessity then was, consented easily, and swore to

whatever *Godwin* requir'd. An Assembly of States thereupon met *Gillingham*, where *Edward* pleaded his right; and by the powerful influence of *Godwin* was accepted. Others, as *Bromton*, with no probability write, that *Godwin* at this time was fled into *Denmark*, for what he had done to *Elfred*, return'd and submitted himself to *Edward* then King, was by him charg'd op'nly with the death of *Elfred*, and not without much ado, by the intercession of *Leofric* and other Peers, receav'd at length into favour.

Edward the Confessor.

1043.
Sim. Dux.

Glad were the *English* deliver'd so unexpectedly from their *Danish* Maisters, and little thought how neer another Conquest was hanging over them. *Edward*, the Easter following, Crown'd at *Winchester*, the same year accompanied with Earl *Godwin*, *Leofric*, and *Siward*, came again thither on a sudden, and by their Counsel seis'd on the Treasure of his Mother *Emma*. The cause alleg'd is, that she was hard to him in the time of his banishment; and indeed she is said not much to have lov'd *Ethelred* her former Husband, and therafter the Chil dern by him; she was moreover noted to be very covetous, hard to the poor, and profuse to Monasteries. About this time also King *Edward*, according to promise, took to Wife *Edith* or *Egith* Earl *Godwin's* Daughter, commended much for Beau-

ty,

ty, Modesty, and, beyond what is requisite in a Woeman, Learning. *Ingulf* then a youth lodging in the Court with his Father, saw her oft, and coming from the School, was sometimes met by her and pos'd, not in Grammar only, but in Logic. *Edward* the next year but one, made ready a strong Navy at *Sandwich* against *Magnus* King of Norway, who threat'nd an Invasion; had not *Swane* King of Denmark diverted him by a War at home to defend his own Land, not out of good will to *Edward*, as may be suppos'd, who at the same time express'd none to the *Danes*, banishing *Gunildis* the Neece of *Ca-nute* with her two Sons, and *Osgod* by fir-name *Clapa*, out of the Realm. *Swane* over-powered by *Magnus*, sent the next year to entreat Aid of King *Edward*; *Godwin* gave counsel to send him fifty Ships fraught with Souldiers; but *Leofric* and the general voice gain-saying, none were sent. The next year *Harold Harvager* King of Norway sending Embassadors, made Peace with King *Edward*; but an Earthquake at *Worster* and *Darby*, Pestilence and Famine in many places, much less'nd the enjoyment thereof. The next year *Henry* the Emperour displeas'd with *Baldwin* Earl of Flanders, had streit'nd him with a great Army by Land; and sending to King *Edward*, desir'd him with his Ships to hinder what he might, his escape by Sea. The King therfore with a great Navy coming to *Sandwich*, there staid till the Emperour came to an agreement with Earl *Baldwin*. Mean while

while *Swane* Son of Earl *Godwin*, who not permitted to marry *Edgiva* the Abbess of *Chester* by him defour'd, had left the Land, came out of *Denmark* with eight Ships, feigning a desire to return into the Kings favour; and *Beorn* his Cousin German, who commanded part of the Kings Navy, promis'd to intercede that his Earldome might be restor'd him. *Godwin* therfore and *Beorn* with a few Ships, the rest of the Fleet gone home, coming to *Pevensy* (but *Godwin* soon departing thence in perfuit of twenty nine *Danish* Ships who had got much booty on the Coast of *Essex*, and perish'd by tempest in their return) *Swane* with his Ships comes to *Beorn* at *Pevensy*, guilefully requests him to sail with him to *Sandwich*, and reconcile him to the King, as he had promis'd. *Beorn* mistrusting no evil where he intended good, went with him in his Ship attended by three only of his Servants: but *Swane* set upon barbarous cruelty, not reconciliation with the King, took *Beorn* now in his power and bound him; then coming to *Dartmouth*, slew and buried him in a deep Ditch. After which, the men of *Hastings* took six of his Ships and brought them to the King at *Sandwich*; with the other two he escap'd into *Flanders*, there remaining till *Aldred* Bishop of *Worster* by earnest mediation wrought his Peace with the King. About this time King *Edward* sent to Pope *Leo*, desiring absolution from a vow, which he had made in his younger yeats, to take a journey to *Rome*, if God youtsaf'd him to Reign in *England*;

gland; the Pope dispenc'd with his Vow, but not without the expence of his journey giv'n to the poor, and a Monastery built or re-edif'd to S^t Peter: who in a Vision to a Monk, as is said, chose *Westminster*, which King Edward thereupon rebuilding endow'd with large privileges and revuenues. The same year, faith *Florent of Worster*, certain *Irish* Pirats with thirty six Ships enter'd the mouth of *Severn*, and with the Aid of *Griffin* Prince of *South-Wales*, did some hurt in those parts: then passing the River *Wey*, burnt *Dunedham*, and slew all the Inhabitants they found. Against whom *Aldred* Bishop of *Worster*, with a few out of *Gloster* and *Herefordshire*, went out in halb: but *Griffin* to whom the *Welsh* and *Irish* had privily sent Messengers, came down upon the *English* with his whole power by night, and early in the morning suddenly assaulting them, slew many, and put the rest to flight. The next year but one, King Edward remitted the *Danish Tax*, which had continu'd thirty eight years heavy upon the Land since *Ethelred* first paid it to the *Danes*, and what remain'd thereof in his treasury he sent back to the owners; but through imprudence *Ingulf*. laid the foundation of a far worse mischief to the *English*; while studying grātitude to those *Normans*, who to him in exile had bin helpfull; he call'd them over to public Offices here, whom better he might have repaid out of his private purse; by this means exasperating either Nation one against the other, and making way by degrees to the *Norman Conquest*.

1051.
Sim. Dun.

Conquest. *Robert* a Monk of that Country, who had bin serviceable to him there in time of need, he made Bishop, first of *London*, then of *Canterbury*; *William* his Chaplain Bishop of *Dorchester*. Then began the English to lay aside thir own Ancient Customes, and in many things to imitate *French* Manners, the great Peers to speak *French* in thir Houses, in *French* to write thir Bills and Letters, as a great piece of Gentility, afham'd of thir own a presage of thir subjection shortly to that people, whose Fashions and Language they affected so slavishly: But that which gave beginning to many Troubles ensuing, happ'd this year, and upon this occasion. *Eustace* Earl of *Bolagn*, Father of the Famous *Godfrey* who won *Jerusalem* from the *Saracens*, and Husband to *Goda* the Kings Sister, having bin to visit King *Edward*, and returning by *Canterbury* to take Ship at *Dover*, one of his Harbingers insolently seeking to lodge by Force in a House there, provok'd so the Master thereof, as by chance or heat of anger to kill him. The Count with his whole Train going to the House where his Servant had bin kill'd, slew both the slayer and eighteen more who defended him. But the Townsmen running to Arms, requited him with the slaughter of twenty one more of his Servants, wounded most of the rest; he himself with one or two hardly escaping; ran back with clamour to the King; whom seconded by other *Norman* Courtiers, he stirr'd up to great anger against the Cittizens of *Canterbury*.

Earl

Malmesb.

1720
and 1721

1720

Earl *Godwin* in haste is sent for, the cause related and much aggravated by the King against that City, the Earl commanded to raise Forces, and use the Cittizens thereof as Enemies. *Godwin*, sorry to see Strangers more favour'd of the King than his Native People, answer'd, that it were better to summon first the Chief Men of the Town into the Kings Court, to charge them with Sedition, where both Parties might be heard, that not found in fault they might be acquitted, if otherwise, by fine or loss of life might satisfie the King whose peace they had brok'n, and the Count whom they had injur'd; till this were done refusing to prosecute with hostile punishment them of his own Country unheard, whom his Office was rather to defend. The King displeas'd with his refusal, and not knowing how to compell him, appointed an Assembly of all the Peers to be held at *Gloster*, where the matter might be fully try'd; the Assembly was full and frequent according to summions; but *Godwin* mistrusting his own Cause, or the violence of his Adversaries; with his two Sons, *Swane* and *Harold*, and a great Power gather'd out of his own and his Sons Earldomes, which contain'd most of the South-East and West parts of *England*, came no furder than *Beverstan*, giving out that their Forces were to go against the *Welsh*, who intended an irruption into *Herefordshire*; and *Swane* under that pretence lay with part of his Army therabout. The *Welsh* understanding this device, and with all diligence clearing themselves before

Sim. Dun.

fore the King, left *Godwin* detected of false accusation in great hatred to all the Assembly. *Leofric* therefore and *Seward* Dukes of great Power, the former in *Mercia*, the other in all parts beyond *Humber*, both ever faithfull to the King, send privily with speed to raise the Forces of thir Provinces. Which *Godwin* not knowing, sent boldly to King *Edward*, demanding Count *Eustace* and his Followers, together with those *Boloignians*, who as *Simeon* writes, held a Castle in the Jurisdiction of *Canterbury*. The King as then having but little Force at hand, entertain'd him a while with treaties and delays, till his sumon'd Army drew nigh, then rejected his demands. *Godwin* thus match'd, command'd his Sons not to begin fight against the King; begun with, not to give ground. The Kings Forces were the flower of those Countries whence they came, and eager to fall on: But *Leofric* and the wiser sort detesting Civil War, brought the matter to this accord, that Hostages giv'n on either side, the whole Cause should be again debated at *London*. Thether the King and Lords coming with thir Army, sent to *Godwin* and his Sons (who with their Powers were come as far as *Southwark*) commanding their appearance unarm'd with only twelve Attendant's, and that the rest of their Souldiers they should deliver over to the King. They to appear without pledges before an adverse faction deny'd; but to dismiss their Souldiers refus'd not, nor in ought else to obey the King as far as might stand with

with honour and the just regard of thir safety. This answer not pleasing the King, an Edict was presently issu'd forth, that *Godwin* and his Sons within five dayes depart the Land. He who perceav'd now his numbers to diminish, readily obey'd, and with his Wife and three Sons, *Tofti*, *Swane*, and *Gyrtha*, with as much Treasure as their Ship could carry, embarking at *Thorney*, sail'd into *Flanders* to Earl *Baldwin*, whose Daughter *Judith Tofti* had married: for *Wulnod* his fourth Son was then hostage to the King in *Normandy*; his other two, *Harold* and *Leofwin*, taking Ship at *Bristow*, in a Vessel that lay ready there belonging to *Swane*, pass'd into *Ireland*. King *Edward* persueing his displeasure, divorc'd his Wife *Edith Earl Godwin's* Daughter, sending her despoil'd of all her Ornaments to *Warewel* with one waiting Maid, to be kept in custody by his Sister the Abbess there. His reason of so doing was as *Malmesb.* harsh as his act, that she only, while her nearest Relations were in banishment, might not, though innocent, enjoy ease at home. After this, *William Duke of Normandy* with a great number of Followers coming into *England*, was by King *Edward* honourably entertain'd and led about the Cities, and Castles, as it were to shew him what ere long was to be his own (though at that time, faith *Ingvulf*, no mention thereof pass'd between them) then after some time of his abode here, presented richly and dismiss'd, he return'd home. The next year Queen *Emma* dy'd, and was buried

1052.

Sim. Dun.

buried at *Winchester*. The Chronicle attributed to *John Bronton* a *Yorkshire Abbot*, but rather of some nameless Author living under *Edward the Third*, or later, reports that the year before, by *Robert the Arch-bishop* she was accus'd both of consenting to the death of her Son *Alfred*, and of prepareing poyson for *Edward* also; lastly of too much familiarity with *Alwin Bishop of Winchester*; that to approve her innocence, praying overnight to *S^t Swithun*, she offer'd to pass blind-fold between certain Plow-shares red hot, according to the *Ordalian Law*, which without harm she perform'd; that the King therupon receav'd her to honour, and from her and the Bishop, penance for his credulity; that the Arch-bishop asham'd of his Accusation fled out of *England*: which besides the silence of *Ancienter Authours* (for the Bishop fled not till a year after) brings the whole story into suspicion, in this more probable, if it can be proov'd, that in memory of this deliverance from the Nine burning Plowshares, Queen *Emma* gave to the Abbey of Saint *Swithune* nine Mannors, and Bishop *Alwin* other nine. About this time *Griffin Prince of South-Wales* wasted *H*
refordshire; to oppose whom the People of that Country with many *Normans*, garrisond in the Castle of *Hereford*, went out in Armes, but were put to the worse, many slain, and much booty driv'n away by the *Welsh*. Soon after which, *Harold and Leofwin, Sons of Godwin*, coming into *Severn* with many Ships, in
the

the Confines of *Somerset* and *Dorsetshire*, spoiling many Villages, and resisted by those of *Somerset* and *Devonshire*, flew in fight more than thirty of thir principal men, many of the common sort, and return'd with much booty to thir Fleet. King *Edward* on the other side Malmesb. made ready above sixty Ships at *Sandwich* well stor'd with Men and Provision, under the Conduct of *Odo* and *Radulf* two of his *Norman* Kindred, enjoyning them to find out *Godwin*, whom he heard to be at Sea. To quick'n them, he himself lay on ship-board, oft-times watch'd and sail'd up and down in search of those Pirats. But *Godwin*, whether in a mist, or by other accident, passing by them, arrived in another part of *Kent*, and dispersing secret messengers abroad, by fair words allured the Chief Men of *Kent*, *Suffex*, *Surrey*, and *Essex* to his Party; which news coming to the Kings Fleet at *Sandwich*, they hasted to find him out; but missing of him again, came up without effect to *London*. *Godwin* advertis'd of this, forthwith sail'd to the Ile of *Wight*; where at length his two Sons *Harold* and *Lewin* finding him, with thir united Navy lay on the Coast, forbearing other hostility than to furnish themselves with fresh victual from Land as they needed. Thence as one Fleet they set forward to *Sandwich*, using all fair means by the way to encrease their numbers both of Mariners and Souldiers. The King then at *London*, startl'd at these tydings, gave speedy order to raise Forces in all parts which had not revolted from him; but now too late, for

for *Godwin* within a few dayes after with his Ships or Gallies came up the River *Thames* to *Southwark*, and till the Tide return'd had conference with the *Londoners*; whom by fair speeches, for he was held a good Speaker in those times, he brought to his bent. The Tide returning, and none upon the Bridge hindring he row'd up in his Gallies along the South bank; where his Land-army, now come to him, in array of battel stood on the shore, then turning toward the North side of the River, where the Kings Gallies lay in some readiness, and Land-forces also not far off, he made shew as offring to fight; but they understood one another, and the Souldiers on either side soon declar'd thir resolution not to fight *English* against *English*. Thence coming to Treaty, the King and the Earl reconcil'd, both Armies were dissolv'd, *Godwin* and his Sons restor'd to their former Dignities, except *Swane*, who touch't in conscience for the slaughter of *Berorn* his Kinsman, was gone barefoot to *Jerusalem*, and returning home, dy'd by sicknes or *Saracens* in *Lycia*; his Wife *Edith*, *Godwin's* Daughter, King *Edward* took to him again, dignify'd as before. Then were the *Normans*, who had done many unjust things under the Kings Authority, and giv'n him ill counsel against his People, banish't the Realm, some of them not blameable permitted to stay. *Robert* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, *William* of *London*, *Ulf* of *Lincoln*, all *Normans*, hardly escaping with thir followers, got to Sea. The Arch-bishop went with his complaint to *Rome*; but returning,

returning, dy'd in *Normandy* at the same Monasterie from whence he came. *Osbern* and *Hugh* surrender'd thir Castles, and by permission of *Leofric* pass'd through his Counties with thir *Normans* to *Macbeth* King of *Scotland*. The year following Rheeze Brother to *Griffin*, Prince of *South-Wales*, who by inrodes had done much damage to the *English*, tak'n at *Bulendun*, was put to death by the Kings appointment, and his head brought to him at *Gloster*. The same year at *Winchester* on the second holy-day of *Easter*, Earl *Godwin* sitting with the King at Table, sunk down suddenly in his seat as dead : his three Sons *Harold*, *Tofti*, and *Gyrtha*, forthwith carried him iinto the Kings Chamber, hoping he might revive : but the malady had so seis'd him, that the 5th day after he expir'd. The *Normans* who hated *Godwin* give out, saith *Malmsbury*, that mention happ'ning to be made of *Elfred*, and the King thereat looking sowerly upon *Godwin*, he to vindicate himself, utter'd these words, Thou, O King, at every mention made of thy Brother *Elfred*, look'st frowningly up on me : but let God not suffer me to swallow this morsel, if I be guilty of ought done against his life or thy advantāge ; that after these words, choak't with the morsel tak'n, he sunk down and recover'd not. His first Wife was the Sister of *Canute*, a Woman of much infamy for the trade she drove of buying up *English* Youths and Maids to sell in *Denmark*, wherof she made great gain ; but e're long was struck with thunder, and dy'd. The

1053.

Sim. D. 35.

1054.

Sim. Dun.

year ensuing, *Seward Earl of Northumberland*, with a great number of Horse and Foot, attended also by a strong Fleet at the Kings appointment, made an expedition into *Scotland*, vanquish't the Tyrant *Macbeth*, slaying many thousands of *Scots* with those *Normans* that went thereto, and plac'd *Malcolm Son of the Cumbrian King* in his stead; yet not without losf of his own Son, and many other both *English* and *Danes*. Told of his Sons death, he ask'd whether he receav'd his deaths wound before or behind? when it was answer'd before, I am glad, saith he; and should not else have thought him, though my Son, worthy of Burial. In the mean while King *Edward* being without Issue to succeed him, sent *Aldred Bishop of Winchester* with great Presents to the Emperour, entreating him to prevail with the King of *Hungary*, that *Edward the remaining Son of his Brother Edmund Ironside*, might be sent into *England*.

1055.

Sim. Dun.

Seward but one year surviving his great Victory, dy'd at *York*; reported by *Huntingdon* a man of Giant like stature, and by his own demeanour at point of death manifested, of a rough and meer soldierly mind. For much disdaining to die in bed by a disease, not in the field fighting with his enemies, he caus'd himself compleatly arm'd, and weapon'd with Battel-ax and Shield to be set in a chair, whether to fight with death, if he could be so vain, or to meet him (when far other weapons and preparations were needful) in a Martial bravery; but true fortitude glories not in the feats of War, as they are

are such, but as they serve to end War soonest by a victorious Peace. His Earldom the King bestow'd on *Tosti* the Son of Earl *Godwin*: and soon after in a Convention held at *London*, banish'd without visible cause, *Huntingdon* saith for treason, *Algar* the Son of *Lo-
fric*; who passing into *Ireland*, soon return'd with eighteen ships to *Griffin* Prince of *South-Wales*, requesting his Aid against King *Ed-
ward*. He assembling his Powers, enter'd with him into *Herefordshire*; whom *Radulf* a ti-
morous Captain, Son to the Kings Sister, not by *Eustace*, but a former Husband, met two miles distant from *Hereford*; and having hor-
sed the *English* who knew better to fight on foot, without stroke he with his *French* and *Normans* beginning to flee, taught the *English* by his example. *Griffin* and *Algar* following the chase, slew many, wounded more, enter'd *Hereford*, slew seven Canons defending the Minister, burnt the Monasterie and Reliques, then the City; killing some, leading captive others of the Citizens, return'd with great spoils; whereof King *Edward* having notice, gather'd a great Army at *Gloster* under the Conduct of *Harold* now Earl of *Kent*; who strenuously pursuing *Griffin*, enter'd *Wales*, and encamp'd beyond *Straddale*. But the enemy flying before him farther into the Countrey, leaving there the greater part of his Army with such as had charge to fight, if occasion were offer'd, with the rest he return'd, and fortifi'd *Hereford* with a Wall and Gates. Mean while *Griffin* and *Algar* dreading the di-

ligence of *Harold*, after many messages to and fro, concluded a Peace with him. *Algar* discharging his Fleet with pay at *West-Chester*, came to the King, and was restor'd to his Earldom.

1055.

Sim. Dun.

Griffin with breach of Faith, the next year set upon *Leofgar* the Bishop of *Hereford* and his Clerks then at a place call'd *Glastbrig* with *Agelnoth* Vicount of the Shire, and slew them; but *Leofric*, *Harold*, and King *Edward* by force, as is likeliest, though it be not said how, reduc'd him to Peace.

1057.

Sim. Dun.

The next year *Edward* Son of *Edmund Ironside*, for whom his Uncle King *Edward* had sent to the Emperour, came out of *Hungary*, design'd Successor to the Crown; but within a few dayes after his coming dy'd at *London*, leaving behind him *Edgar Atheling* his Son, *Margaret* and *Christina* his Daughters. About the same time also dy'd Earl *Leofric* in a good old age, a man of no less Vertue than Power in his time, Religious, Prudent and Faithful to his Country, happily wedded to *Godiva* a Woman of great praise.

1058.

Sim. Dun.

Algar found less favour with King *Edward*, again banish't the year after his Fathers death; but he again by the aid of *Griffin*, and a Fleet from *Norway*, maugre the King, soon recover'd his Earldom.

1059.

Sim. Dun.

The next year *Malcolm King of Scots* coming to visit King *Edward*, was brought on his way by *Tosti* the Northumbrian Earl, to whom he swore Brotherhood: yet the next year but one, while *Tosti* was gone to *Rome* with *Aldred* Arch-bishop of *York* for his Pall, this sworn Brother taking advantage of his absence, roughly

1061.

Sim. Dun.

roughly harraff'd *Northumberland*. The year
passing to an end without other matter of mo-
ment, save the frequent inrodes and robbe-
ries of *Griffin*, whom no bonds of Faith could
restrain, King *Edward* sent against him after
Christmas *Harold* now Duke of *West-Saxons*
with no great body of Horse from *Gloster*,
where he then kept his Court, whose coming
heard of, *Griffin* not daring to abide, nor in
any part of his Land holding himself secure,
escap't hardly by Sea, e're *Harold* coming to
Rudeland, burnt his Palace and Ships there, re-
turning to *Gloster* the same day : But by the
middle of *May* setting out with a Fleet from
Bristow, he sail'd about the most part of *Wales*,
and met by his Brother *Tofti* with many Troops
of Horse, as the King had appointed, began
to waste the Countrey ; but the *Welsh* giving
pledges, yeilded themselves, promis'd to be-
come tributary, and banish *Griffin* thir Prince ;
who lurking somewhere, was the next year
tak'n and slain by *Griffin* Prince of *North-*
Wales ; his Head, with the head and tackle of
his Ship sent to *Harold*, by him to the King,
who of his gentlenes made *Blechgent* and *Rith-*
wallon or *Rivallon* his two Brothers Princes in
his stead ; they to *Harold* in behalf of the
King swore Fealty and Tribute. Yet the next
year *Harold* having built a fair house at a place
call'd *Portascith* in *Monmouth-shire*, and stor'd
it with provision, that the King might lodge
there in time of hunting, *Caradoc* the Son of
Griffin slain the year before, came with a num-
ber of men, slew all he found there, and took

1062.

Sim. Dun.

1063.

Sim. Dun.

1064.

Sim. Dun.

1065.

Sim. Dun.
Camden.

away the provision. Soon after which the *Northumbrians* in a tumult at *York*, beset the Palace of *Tostig* thir Earl, slew more than two hundred of his Souldiers and Servants, pillaged his Treasure, and put him to flie for his life. The cause of this Insurrection they alledg'd to be, for that the Queen *Edith* had commanded in her Brother *Tostig*'s behalf, *Gospatric* a Noble Man of that Countrey to be treacherously slain in the Kings Court; and that *Tostig* himself the year before with like treachery had caus'd to be slain in his Chamber *Gamel* and *Ulf* two other of thir Noble Men, besides his intolerable exactions and oppressions. Then in a manner the whole Country coming up to complain of thir grievances, met with *Harold* at *Northampton*, whom the King at *Tostig*'s request had sent to pacifie the *Northumbrians*; but they laying op'n the cruelty of his Government, and thir own birth-right of freedom not to endure the tyrrannie of any Governour whatsoeuer, with absolute refusel to admit him again, and *Harold* hearing reason, all the accomplices of *Tostig* were expell'd the Earldom. He himself banish't the Realm, went into *Flanders*; *Morcar* the Son of *Algar* made Earl in his stead. *Huntingdon* tells another cause of *Tostig*'s banishment, that one day at *Windfor*, while *Harold* reach'd the Cup to King *Edward*, *Tostig* envying to see his younger Brother in greater favour than himself, could not forbear to run furiously upon him, catching hold of his Hair, the scuffle was soon parted by other attendants

rushing

rushing between, and *Tosti* forbidd'n the Court. He with continu'd fury rideing to *Hereford*, where *Harold* had many Servants, preparing an entertainment for the King, came to the House and set upon them with his followers; then lopping off Hands, Arms, Legs of some, Heads of others, threw them into Butts of Wine, Meath, or Ale, which were laid in for the Kings drinking: and at his going away charg'd them to send him this word, that of other fresh meats he might bring with him to his Farm what he pleas'd, but of Sous he should find plenty provided ready for him: that for this barbarous Act the King pronounced him banisht; that the *Northumbrians* taking advantage at the Kings displeasure and sentence against him, rose also to be reveng'd of his cruelties done to themselves; but this no way agrees, for why then should *Harold* or the King so much labour with the *Northumbrians* to re-admit him, if he were a banisht man for his Crimes done before? About this time it happ'd that *Harold* putting to Sea one day for his pleasure, in a Fisher Boat, from his Mannor at *Boseham* in *Sussex*, caught with a Tempest too far off Land, was carried into *Normandy*; and by the Earl of *Pontiew*, on whose Coast he was driv'n, at his own request brought to Duke *William*; who entertaining him with great courtesie, so far won him, as to promise the Duke by Oath of his own accord, not only the Castle of *Dover* then in his tenure, but the Kingdom also after King *Edwards* death to his utmost endeavour, therup-

on betrothing the Dukes Daughter then too young for marriage, and departing richly presented. Others say, that King *Edward* himself after the death of *Edward* his Nephew, sent *Harold* thither, on purpose to acquaint Duke *William* with his intention to bequeath him his Kingdom : but *Malmesbury* accounts the former story to be the truer. *Ingulf* writes, that King *Edward* now grown old, and perceiving *Edgar* his Nephew both in body and mind unfit to Govern, especially against the pride and insolence of *Godwin*'s Sons, who would never obey him ; Duke *William* on the other side of high Merit, and his Kinsman by the Mother, had sent *Robert* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, to acquaint the Duke with his purpose, not long before *Harold* came thither. The former part may be true, that King *Edward* upon such considerations had sent one or other ; but Arch-bishop *Robert* was fled the Land, and dead many years before. *Eadmer* and *Simeon* write, that *Harold* went of his own accord into *Normandy*, by the Kings permission or connivence, to get free his Brother *Iwlnod* and Nephew *Hacur* the Son of *Swane*, whom the King had tak'n hostages of *Godwin* and sent into *Normandy*; that King *Edward* foretold *Harold*, his journey thither would be to the detriment of all *England* and his own reproach ; that Duke *William* then acquainted *Harold*, how *Edward* e're his coming to the Crown had promis'd, if ever he attain'd it, to leave Duke *William* Successor after him. Last of these *Mathew Paris* writes, that *Harold*

Leges Ed.
Conf. Tit.
Lex Noric.

rold to get free of Duke *William*, affirm'd his coming thether not to have bin by accident or force of Tempest, but on set purpose, in that private manner to enter with him into secret confederacie; so variously are these things reported. After this King *Edward* grew sickly, yet as he was able kept his *Christmas* at 1065.
Sim. Dun. *London*, and was at the Dedication of St Peter's Church in *Westminster*, which he had rebuilt; but on the Eve of *Epiphanie*, or *Twelftide*, deceas'd much lamented, and in the Church was Entoomb'd. That he was harmless and simple, is conjectur'd by his words in anger to a Peasant who had cross'd his Game (for with Hunting and Hawking he was much delighted) By God and Gods Mother, said he, I shall do you as shrew'd a turn if I can; observing that Law-Maxime, the best of all his Successors, that the King of *England* can do no wrong. The softness of his Nature gave growth to Factions of those about him, *Normans* especially and *English*; these complaining that *Robert* the Arch-bishop was a fower of dissention between the King and his People, a traducer of the *English*; the other side, that *Godwin* and his Sons bore themselves arrogantly and proudly towards the King, usurping to themselves equall share in the Government; oft-times making sport with his simplicity, that through their Power in the *Hunting.* Land, they made no scruple to kill men of whose Inheritance they took a likeing, and so to take possession. The truth is, that *Godwin* and his Sons did many things boistroufly and

and violently, much against the Kings mind ; which not able to resist, he had, as some say, his Wife *Edith Godwins Daughter* in such a verfation, as in bed never to have touch'd her ; whether for this cause or mistak'n Chastitie, not commendable ; to enquire further is not material. His Lawes held good and just, and long after desir'd by the *English* of thir *Norman* Kings, are yet extant. He is said to be at Table not excessive, at Festivals nothing puf't up with the costly Robes he wore, which his Queen with curious Art had woven for him in Gold. He was full of Alms-deeds, and exhorted the Monks to like Chastitie. He is said to be the first of *English* Kings that cur'd the Disease call'd thence the Kings Evil ; yet *Malmsbury* blames them who attribute that Cure to his Royaltie, not to his Sanctitie ; said also to have cur'd certain blind men with the water wherin he had wash'd his hands. A little before his death, lying speechles two days, the third day after a deep sleep, he was heard to pray, that if it were a true Vision, not an Illusion which he had seen, God would give him strength to utter it, otherwise not. Then he related how he had seen two devout Monks, whom he knew in *Normandy*, to have liv'd and dy'd well, who appearing told him they were sent Messengers from God to foretell, that because the great Ones of *England*, Dukes, Lords, Bishops, and Abbots, were not Ministers of God but of the Devil, God had deliver'd the Land to thir Enemies ; and when he

he desir'd that he might reveal this Vision, to the end they might repent, it was answer'd; they neither will repent, neither will God pardon them; at this relation others trembling, *Stigand* the Simonious Arch-bishop, whom *Edward* much to blame had suffer'd many years to sit Primate in the Church, is said to have laugh't, as at the feavourish Dream of a doteing Old Man; but the event prov'd it true.

Harold Son of Earl Godwin.

Harold, whether by King *Edward* a little *Hoved*. before his death ordain'd Successor to *Florent*. the Crown, as *Simeon* of *Durham*, and others affirm; or by the prevalence of his Faction, excluding *Edgar* the right Heir, Grandchild to *Edmund Ironside*, as *Malmsbury* and *Huntingdon* agree, no sooner was the Funeral of King *Edward* ended, but on the same day was Elected and Crown'd King: and no sooner plac't in the Throne, but began to frame himself by all manner of compliances to gain affection, endeavour'd to make good Laws, repeal'd bad, became a great Patron to Church and Church-men, courteous and affable to all reputed good, a hater of evil doers, charg'd all his Officers to punish Theives, Robbers, and all disturbers of the Peace, while he himself by Sea and Land labour'd in the defence of his Countrey: so good an actor is ambition. In the mean while a blazing

a blazing Star, seven Mornings together, about the end of *April*, was seen to stream terribly, not only over *England*, but other parts of the World; foretelling heer, as was thought, the great Changes approaching : plainliest prognosticated by *Elmer a Monk of Malmsbury*, who could not foresee, when time was, the breaking of his own Legs for soaring too high. He in his youth strangely aspiring, had made and fitted Wings to his Hands and Feet; with these on the top of a Tower, spread out to gather Air, he flew more than a Furlong; but the wind being too high, came fluttering down, to the maiming of all his Limbs ; yet so conceited of his Art, that he attributed the cause of his fall to the want of a Tail, as Birds have, which he forgot to make to his hinder parts. This story, though seeming otherwise too light in the midst of a sad narration, yet for the strangeness thereof, I thought worthy anough the placing as I found it plac't in my Authour. But to digress no farder, *Tosti* the Kings Brother coming from *Flanders*, full of Envy at his younger Brothers advancement to the Crown, resolv'd what he might to trouble his Reign; forcing therfore them of *Wight Ile* to Contribution, he sail'd thence to *Sandwich*, committing Piracies on the Coast between. *Harold* then residing at *London*, with a great number of Ships drawn together, and of Horse Troops by Land, prepares in person for *Sandwich* : whereof *Tosti* having notice, directs his course with sixty Ships towards *Lindsey*, taking with him all the Seamen

men he found, willing or unwilling : where he burnt many Villages, and slew many of the Inhabitants ; but *Edwin* the Mercian Duke, and *Morcar* his Brother, the Northumbrian Earl, with thir Forces on either side, soon drove him out of the Countrey. Who thence betook him to *Malcolm* the Scottish King, and with him abode the whole Summer. About the same time Duke *William* sending Embassadors to admonish *Harold* of his Promise and Oath, to assist him in his Plea to the Kingdom, he made answer, that by the death of his Daughter betroth'd to him on that condition, he was absolv'd of his Oath, or not *Eadmer*. dead, he could not take her now an Outlandish woman, without consent of the Realm ; that it was presumptuously done, and not to be persisted in, if without consent or knowledge of the States, he had fworn away the right of the Kingdome ; that what he swore was to gain his Liberty, being in a manner then his Prifner ; that it was unreasonable in the Duke to require or expect of him the foregoing of a Kingdome, conferr'd upon him with universal favour and acclamation of the People : To this flat denial he added contempt, sending the Messengers back, saith *Mathew Paris*, on maim'd Horses. The Duke thus contemptuously put off, addresses himself to the Pope, setting forth the Justice of his Cause, which *Harold*, whether through haughtiness of mind, or distrust, or that the wayes to *Rome* were stop'd, sought not to do. Duke *William*, besides the Promise and Oath
of

of *Harold*, alledg'd that King *Edward* by the advice of *Seward*, *Godwin* himself, and *Stigand* the Arch-bishop, had given him the Right of Succession, and had sent him the Son and Nephew of *Godwin*, pledges of the guift; the Pope sent to Duke *William*, after this demonstration of his Right, a Consecrated Banner. Wherupon he having with great care and choice got an Army of tall and stout Souldiers, under Captains of great skill and mature Age, came in *August* to the Port of *St Valerie*. Mean while *Harold* from *London* comes to *Sandwich*, there expecting his Navy; which also coming, he fails to the *Ile of Wight*; and having heard of Duke *William*'s preparations and readiness to invade him, kept good watch on the Coast, and Foot Forces every where in fit places to guard the shoar. But e're the middle of *September*, provision failing when it was most needed, both Fleet and Army return home. When on a sudden, *Harold Harvager* King of *Norway*, with a Navy of more than five hundred great Ships, (others less'n them by two hundred, others augment them to a thousand) appears at the mouth of *Tine*; to whom Earl *Tofti* with his Ships came as was agreed between them; whence both uniting, set sail with all speed, and enter'd the River *Humber*. Thence turning into *Ouse*, as far as *Rical*, landed; and won *Yorke* by assault. At these tideings *Harold* with all his Power hasts thetherward; but e're his coming, *Edwin* and *Morcar* at *Fulford* by *Yorke*, on the North side of *Ouse*, about the
Feast

*Malmsb.
Mathew
Paris.*

Feast of St *Mathew* had giv'n them Battel; successfully at first, but over-born at length with numbers; and forc't to turn their backs, more of them perish'd in the River, than in the Fight. The *Norwegians* taking with them five hundred Hostages out of *York*, and leaving there one hundred and fifty of their own, retir'd to their Ships. But the fifth day after, King *Harold* with a great and well appointed Army, coming to *York*, and at *Stam-camden.* *ford-Bridge*, or *Battell-Bridge* on *Darwent*, assailing the *Norwegians*, after much bloodshed on both sides, cut off the greatest part of them with *Harfager* their King, and *Tofti* his own Brother. But *Olave* the Kings Son, and *Paul* Earl of *Orkney*, left with many Souldiers to guard the Ships, surrendring themselves with Hostages and Oath giv'n never to return as Enemies, he suffer'd freely to depart with twenty Ships, and the small remnant of their Army. One man of the *Malmesb.* *Norwegians* is not to be forgott'n, who with incredible valour keeping the Bridge a long hour against the whole *English* Army, with his single resistance delai'd their Victorie; and scorning offer'd life, till in the end no man dareing to grapple with him, either dreaded as too strong, or contemned as one desperate, he was at length shot dead with an Arrow; and by his fall op'nd the passage of persuit to a compleat Victorie. Wherewith *Harold* listed up in minde, and forgetting now his former shews of popularitie, defrauded his Souldiers their due, and well deserved share

Sim. Dun.

share of the spoils. While these things thus past in *Northumberland*, Duke *William* lay still at Saint *Valerie*; his Ships were readie, but the wind serv'd not for many days; which put the Souldierie into much discouragement and murmur, taking this for an unlucky signe of thir success; at last the wind came favourable, the Duke first under sail awaited the rest at Anchor, till all coming forth, the whole Fleet of nine hunderd Ships, with a prosperous gale arriv'd at *Hastings*. At his going out of the Boat by a flip falling on his hands, to correct the Omen, a Souldier standing by said aloud, that their Duke had tak'n possession of *England*. Landed, he restraine'd his Army from waste and spoil, saying, that they ought to spare what was thir own. But these are things related of *Alexander* and *Cesar*, and I doubt thence borrow'd by the Monks to inlay their Story. The Duke for fifteen dayes after landing kept his Men quiet within the Camp, having tak'n the Castle of *Hastings*, or built a Fortress there. *Harold* secure the while, and proud of his new Victorie, thought all his Enemies now under foot: but fitting jollily at dinner, news is brought him, that Duke *William* of *Normandy* with a great multitude of Horse and Foot, Slingers and Archers, besides other choice Auxiliaries w^ch he had hir'd in *France*, was arriv'd at *Pewsey*. *Harold* who had expected him all the Summer, but not so late in the year as now it was, for it was *October*; with his Forces much diminish't after two sore Conflicts, and the departing

departing of many others from him discontented, in great hast marches to *London*. Thence not tarrying for supplies which were on thir way towards him, hurries into *Sussex* (for he was always in hast since the day of his Coronation) and e're the third part of his Army could be well put in order, finds the Duke about nine mile from *Hastings*, and now drawing nigh, sent spies before him to survey the strength and number of his Enemies : them, discover'd such, the Duke causing to be led about, and after well fill'd with meat and drink sent back. They not over-wise, brought word that the Dukes Army were most of them Priests ; for they saw their faces all over shav'n ; the *English* then useing to let grow on their upper-lip large Mustachio's, as did anciently the *Britans*. The King laughing, answer'd, That they were not Priests, but valiant and hardy Souldiers. Therefore said *Girtha* his Brother, a Youth of noble courage and understanding above his Age, Forbear thou thy self to fight, who art obnoxious to Duke *William* by Oath, let us unifworn undergo the hazard of Battel, who may justly fight in the defence of our Country ; thou reserv'd to fitter time, may'st either reunite us flying, or revenge us dead. The King not hark'ning to this, lest it might seem to argue Fear in him, or a Bad Cause, with like Resolution rejected the Offers of Duke *William* sent to him by a Monk before the Battel, with this only Answer hastily deliver'd, Let God judge between us. The Offers were

these, That *Harold* would either lay down the Scepter, or hold it of him, or try his Title with him by single Combate in the sight of both Armies, or referr it to the Pope. These rejected, both fides prepar'd to fight the next morning, the *English* from singing and drinking all night, the *Normans* from confession of thir sins, and communion of the Host. The *English* were in a streit disadvantagious place, so that many discourag'd with thir ill ordering, scarce having room where to stand, slip'd away before the Onset, the rest in close order with thir Battel-Axes and Shields, made an impenetrable Squadron : the King himself with his Brothers on foot stood by the Royal Standard, wherein the figure of a man fighting was inwov'n with Gold and precious Stones. The *Norman* Foot, most Bowmen, made the formost Front, on either side Wings of Horse somewhat behind. The Duke Arming, and his Corslet giv'n him on the wrong side, said pleasantly, *The strength of my Duke-dom will be turn'd now into a Kingdom.* Then the whole Army singing the Song of *Rowland*, the remembrance of whose Exploits might heart'n them, imploring lastly Divine help, the Battel began ; and was fought sorely on either side ; but the main Body of *English* Foot by no means would be brok'n, till the Duke causing his men to feign flight, drew them out with desire of pursuit into op'n disorder, then turn'd suddenly upon them so routed by themselves, which wrought thir overthrow ; yet so they dy'd not unmanfully, but turning

turning oft upon thir Enemies, by the advantage of an upper ground, beat them down by heaps, and fill'd up a great Ditch with thir Carcasses. Thus hung the Victory wavering on either side, from the third hour of day to Evening ; when *Harold* having maintain'd the fight with unspeakable courage and personal valour, shot into the head with an Arrow, fell at length, and left his Souldiers without heart longer to withstand the unwearied Enemy. With *Harold* fell also his two Brothers, *Leofwin*, and *Girtha*, with them greatest part of the *English* Nobility. His Body lying dead a Knight or Souldier wounding on the thigh, was by the Duke presently turn'd out of military service. Of *Normans* and *French* were slain no small number ; the Duke himself also that day not a little hazarded his person, having had three choice Horses kill'd under him. Victory obtain'd, and his dead carefully buried, the *English* also by permission, he sent the body of *Harold* to his Mother without ransom, though she offer'd very much to redeem it, which having receav'd, she buried at *Waltham*, in a Church built there by *Harold*. In the mean while, *Edwin* and *Morcar*, who had withdrawn themselves from *Harold*, hearing of his death, came to *London* ; sending *Aldgith* the Queen thir Sister with all speed to *West-Chester*. *Aldred* Arch-bishop of *York*, and many of the Nobles, with the *Londoners* would have set up *Edgar* the right Heir, and prepar'd themselves to fight for him ; but. *Morcar* and *Edwin* not likeing the choice, who

Sim. Dun.

each of them expected to have been chos'n before him, withdrew thir Forces and returned home. Duke *William* contrary to his former Resolution, if *Florent of Worster*, and they who follow him say true, wasting, burning, and slaying all in his way, or rather, as faith *Malmsbury*, not in Hostile but in Regal manner came up to *London*, met at *Barcham* by *Edgar*, with the Nobles, Bishops, Citizens, and at length *Edwin* and *Morcar*, who all submitted to him, gave Hostages, and swore Fidelity, he to them promis'd Peace and Defence; yet permitted his Men the while to burn and make prey. Coming to *London* with all his Army, he was on *Christm^{as}* day solemnly Crown'd in the great Church at *Westminster*, by *Aldred* Arch-bishop of *York*, having first giv'n his Oath at the Altar in presence of all the People, to Defend the Church, well Govern the People, Maintain Right Law; prohibit Rapine and unjust Judgment. Thus the *English*, while they agreed not about the choice of thir Native King, were constrein'd to take the Yoke of an Out-landish Conquerour. With what minds, and by what course of life they had fitted themselves for this Servitude, *William* of *Malmsbury* spares not to lay op'n. Not a few years before the *Normans* came, the Clergy, though in *Edward* the Confessors daies, had lost all good Literature and Religion, scarce able to read and understand thir Latin Service: He was a miracle to others who knew his Grammar. The Monks went clad in fine Stuffs, and made no difference

difference what they eat ; which though in it self no fault, yet to thir Consciences was irreligious. The Great Men giv'n to Gluttony and dissolute Life, made a prey of the Common People, abusing thir Daughters whom they had in Service, then turning them off to the Stews ; the meaner sort tipling together night and day, spent all they had in Drunkenness, attended with other Vices which effeminate mens minds. Whence it came to pafs, that carried on with fury and rashnes more than any true fortitude or skill of War, they gave to *William* their Conquerour so easie a Conquest. Not but that ſome few of all sorts were much better among them ; but ſuch was the generality. And as the long ſuffering of God permits bad men to enjoy prosperous daies with the good, ſo his feverity oft-times exempts not good men from thir ſhare in evil times with the bad.

If these were the Caufes of ſuch Mifery and Thraldom to thofe our Ancestors, with what better cloſe can be Concluded, than here in fit ſeafon to remember this Age in the midſt of her Security, to fear from like Vices without amendment the Revolution of like Calamities.

F I N I S.

Age 1 developed to maturity 17

A N I N D E X

Of all the Chief Persons and Material
Passages contained in the fore-
going H I S T O R Y.

A

- A** Dda succeeds his Father Ida in the Kingdome of Bernicia. Pag. 150
Adminius the Son of Cunobeline banish't his Country, flies to the Emperour Caligula, and stirs him up against it. p. 62, 63
Aganippus a Gaulish King, marries Cordelia, the Daughter of King Leir. p. 25
Agricola Son of Severianus spreads the Pelagian Doctrine in Britan. p. 122
Aidan a Scotch Bishop sent for by Oswald to settle Religion, p. 182. He hath his Episcopal Seat at Lindisfarne, ibid. He dies for grief of the murder of Oswin. p. 185
Alaric takes Rome from the Emperour Honorius. p. 115
Alban of Verulam with others suffers Martyrdom under Dioclesian. p. 105
Albanaet one of the three Sons of Brutus, hath Albania,

The Table.

- Albania, now Scotland, for his share in the Kingdom. p. 20
- Albion the ancient name of this Island, p. 9, 10, whence derived. ibid.
- Albina said to be the Eldest of Dioclesians fifty Daughters, p. 10. From her the name Albion derived. ibid.
- Alcred slaying Ethelwald usurps the Kingdom of the Northumbrians. p. 208
- Aldfrid recall'd from Ireland, succeeds his Brother Ecfrid in the Northumbrian Kingdome, p. 197. He leaves Osred a Child to succeed him. p. 199
- Aldulf the Nephew of Ethelwald succeeds King of the East-Angles. p. 219
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ibid.

H.

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p. 321

Harold *Son of Godwin, made Earl of Kent, and sent against Prince Griffin of Wales*, p. 339 *he reduces him at last to utmost extremity*, p. 340, 341 *being cast upon the Coast of Normandy, and brought to Duke William, he promises his endeavours to make him King of England*, p. 343, 344 *he takes the Crown himself*, p. 347 *puts off Duke William demanding it with a slighting answer*, p. 349, 350 *is invaded by his Brother Tostii*, p. 348. *by Harold Harfager King of Norwey, whom he utterly overthrows and slays, together with Tostii*, p. 350, 351 *is invaded by Duke William of Normandy*, p. 352 *is overthrown at the Battel of Hastings, and slain, together with his two Brothers Leofwin and Gyrtha.* p. 355

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- Kendwalla or Kadwallop a British King joyn-ing with Penda the Mercian, slays Edwin in Battel. p. 180
- Kedwalla a West-Saxon Prince returned from Banishment, slays in fight Edelwalk the South-Saxon, and after that Edric his Successor, p. 194 going to the Isle of Wight, he devotes the fourth part thereof to holy uses, ibid. the Sons of Arwald King of that Isle slain by his order, p. 195 he harrasses the Countrey of the South-Saxons, ibid. is repell'd by the Kentish men, ibid. yet revenges the death of his Brother Mollo, p. 196 going to Rome to be baptiz'd, he dies there about five weeks after his Baptism. p. 197, 198
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- Kinwulf, or Kenwulf (Sigebert being thrown out, and slain by a Swineherd) is saluted King of the West-Saxons, p. 206 behaves himself valorously in several battels against the Welch, p. 208 put to the worst at Besington by Offa the Mercian, ibid. is routed and slain in Battel by Kineard whom he had commanded into Banishment. p. 209, 210
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- Magus the Son and Successor of Samothes, whom some fable to have been the first peopler of this Island. p. 8
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- Marganus the Son of Archigallo a good King.
p. 35
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